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Nuclear Weapons Disposal Discussed With U.S.

LD1603190792 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—The implementation of the U.S. proposal to help Russia dismantle and store nuclear charges was discussed on Monday [16 March] by Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev and General William Burns, head of the U.S. delegation at Russian-American talks on safe storing, transportation and elimination of nuclear weapons, the press centre of the Russian foreign ministry reported.

The results of the previous consultations were discussed during the meeting. Shelov-Kovedyayev and Burns agreed the first round of consultations was fruitful and constructive, the press centre said.

Joint Venture Signed With U.S. on Nuclear Subs

LD1603105892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1314 GMT 15 Mar 92

[From the "External Economic Relations" section]

[Text] Khabarovsk—Russia's far eastern-based Zvezda (Star) plant and US company AM International sign an agreement in Primorye Maritime Territory on March 14 to jointly dismantle Russian nuclear submarines.

Work to set up Stella, a Russian-American joint venture, began in the town of Bolshoiy Kremen (in Primorye territory). The JV [joint venture] would deal with the task of dismantling, utilizing, and deep processing of Russian nuclear submarines, in line with international accords on strategic offensive weapons' cuts. Some sources say that the project will use American technologies of plasma cutting for super-durable and tough materials, and of processing and utilizing high-alloy steel, which the submarines' hulls are made of.

Plans are made to register the Russian-American Stella JV at the Russian Finance Ministry this coming April. The joint venture's founders include the Zvezda far eastern ship-repairing plant, the Red Flag Pacific Fleet, and the US Company AM International. Stella's authorized capital is 15 million US dollars. The joint venture's profits will be split between the founders on a 50:50 basis, with the US share subsequently diminishing. The American side will begin shipping US equipment 30 days after the joint venture's registration.

In his interview for PF [POSTFACTUM], Yuriy Samoilov, who is on the joint venture's founders' council, disclosed that having a general knowledge of the Russian program for withdrawing Russian ships with special equipment from duty, which provides that no less than 6 nuclear-propelled ships be liquidated each year, they decided that with the stone-age dismantling technologies of the Russian military they will not be able to keep up such a high pace of dismantling, and that's why the need to attract Americans to this program emerged. According to Samoilov, the American side can also help free large industrial capacities at the Zvezda plant, which could be used to launch different production. Besides, the Americans can also cut labour expenses 6 times.

According to PF sources, close to the Pacific Fleet Command, all special equipment, activated areas, as well as all weapons on board the submarines, being dismantled, will be carved out by the military themselves, and will then be transported for burial, presumably, in Krasnoyarsk. PF sources also say that at present some 35 to 40 submarines, of the Mayak (Lighthouse), Akula (Shark), and other types, with 6 thousand ton displacement, are now ready for dismantling.

More Comments on Ukraine Stopping Arms Removal

Russian High Command

PM1603133_92 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Ukraine Has No Access to Nuclear Weapons, High Command Asserts"]

[Text] A news conference for Russian journalists has been held at the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command. It was prompted by the statement of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk on halting the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from the state's territory. The press conference was chaired by Lieutenant General Sergey Zelentsov, deputy chief of a CIS Joint Armed Forces Main Directorate.

He stated that Ukraine breached the schedule for the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons made on 23 February without offering any explanation for its action. It has become clearer since the president's statement.

But this step undermines the accords of the leaders of the CIS countries achieved and signed in Alma-Ata and Minsk. Under those accords tactical nuclear weapons must be removed from the territory of Belarus and Ukraine before 1 July 1992 (they have already been removed from Kazakhstan). Furthermore, Kravchuk's statement casts doubt on Ukraine's readiness to fulfill the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Article Two of which plainly bans the direct or indirect transfer of nuclear weapons or nuclear explosive devices by anyone as well as their receipt.

There is also doubt over the plans to build a plant for the development [razrabotka—could be misprint for razborka—dismantling] of nuclear warheads. Scant justification has been given for those plans. The construction of such a plant will require investments of billions, which Ukraine scarcely has. In addition, these plans by their nature can also be plants for the assembly of nuclear munitions. They cannot be used in the future for the reprocessing of nuclear fuel from nuclear power stations. These are completely different technologies.

Those who have prepared such a decision for the president are hardly familiar with this process or the international commitments that Ukraine has signed.

Gen. Zelentsov stated that Russia does not have the right to transfer nuclear weapons, including the components from which they are made—weapons-grade plutonium and uranium—to anyone, either. Extending the range of people working with nuclear fuel may also lead to its loss [utechka] abroad and the proliferation of the technology of nuclear weapons manufacture, which is equally intolerable.

"Our nuclear weapons today," the general stated, "are under unified and reliable control. Ukraine does not nor will it have access to them. We will take care of that so that the Ukrainian people and the peoples of Russia and other states may rest assured: Nuclear weapons will not bring them disaster."

Answering an IZVESTIYA correspondent's question on how in practice the military will be able to do this, the general said: We have an action program against saboteurs and terrorists but we do not yet have one against arbitrary political decisions. But we hope that at the conference in Kiev on 20 March we will reach a decision based on common sense and the observance of international commitments."

An IZVESTIYA correspondent asked other leaders of the CIS Joint Armed Forces to comment on the statement by the Ukrainian president. Colonel General Viktor Samsonov, chief of the Joint Armed Forces General Staff, expressed full solidarity with Gen. Zelentsov's opinion.

He said that the Ukraine president's statement has no worthwhile basis. It is more a political game than a farsighted action conceived in the light of all its real consequences. The comment on Russia's lack of a production base for the dismantling of nuclear munitions does not accord with the facts. Russia is fulfilling its commitments impeccably. It has four excellently equipped plants for this purpose with well-trained and highly skilled specialists who work with nuclear munitions in precise accord with the technological and safety requirements. The only problem is the lack of sufficient storage facilities for the weapons-grade plutonium and uranium removed from the munitions.

High-ranking military specialists believe that some of the $400 million allocated by the United States will be used for this task. Incidentally, in a conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, some leaders of the Joint Armed Forces High Command expressed the view that the Ukraine president's statement on halting the removal of tactical nuclear weapons and the construction of its own plant for their dismantling could be dictated by a desire to secure for Ukraine a substantial proportion of the credits allocated to Russia. Admittedly, this did not take into account the fact that no one in the West will give money to people who repudiate so easily commitments that they have previously adopted.

Military experts consider that Ukraine's "nuclear demarche" could also be due to a desire to pressure Russia before the summit meeting in Kiev where the fate of the Black Sea Fleet is to be decided.

The talks on the division of the fleet are proving to be very difficult. Agreement has not been reached on any parameters. The command of the Navy and the Joint Armed Forces will fight tooth and nail not to concede to Ukraine a single ship or shore unit more than the 219 previously offered. There can be no compromise and the mood in Sevastopol and the Crimea is certainly not in favor of official Kiev. A firm step was needed to break down Russia's defense—thus the idea of halting the removal of tactical nuclear weapons arose.

This version is supported by the fact that the initial reason for suspending the withdrawal was the demand to remove nuclear weapons from the Black Sea Fleet first. At the Joint Armed Forces General Staff they have been forced to agree to revise the schedule. They compiled a new plan, coordinated it with the Ukraine Defense Ministry, and prepared the first train. But it, too, was halted.

The military think that this decision by the Ukraine President cannot last long. The situation within the CIS and the reaction of the international community and the leaders of the United States, the FRG, and other states will soon make it necessary to repudiate this unpopular action, which is fraught with dangerous consequences.

In a statement released by ITAR-TASS, the Ukrainian President's press service explained the position of the head of state. Ukraine does not repudiate its principled position regarding the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from its territory and would like to ensure the fulfillment of the accord in full, the statement says. The process of dismantling and destroying these weapons must take place under the joint control of the CIS states and Ukraine must have complete information on the fate of these weapons after withdrawal from Ukrainian territory, the statement stresses.

Kazakh President's Spokesman

LD1603191992 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 16 (TASS)—Ukraine's decision to suspend the transfer of tactical nuclear weapons to Russia signals its abandonment of the Alma-Ata and Minsk accords between member-countries of the CIS, Kazakhstan president's spokesman Seitkazy Mataev told the Kazakh news agency.

Last week, announcing Ukraine's decision President Leonid Kravchuk justified it by saying that Kiev cannot be certain that the transferred missiles will be destroyed and will not fall into bad hands.

Article Six of the document, signed in Alma-Ata on December 21 last year stipulates the need to cooperate in

eliminating missiles, the procedure and time for transferring warheads to central bases and other dismantling conditions.

References to "alarm about the uncontrollable character of the process" can hardly be accepted, the spokesman said, adding that "they harm mutual understanding and trust in relations between Commonwealth member-states and delay the resolution of the problem of nuclear weapons."

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk in his Thursday [12 March] statement maintained that "Russia has insufficient capacities to destroy nuclear arsenals". Ukraine, thus, has the right to "have analogous plants on its territory", he said.

Kravchuk does not have the information about Russia's facilities used to dismantle and destroy nuclear weapons and has not asked corresponding Russian agencies about the problem, Valeriy Bogdan, an aide of the Russian atomic energy minister, said.

On the other hand, the entire weapons complex is situated in Russia and nuclear weapons should be dismantled by those who produced them, Bogdan told ITAR-TASS. Otherwise, things could go dangerously wrong, he explained.

Commenting on Kravchuk's appeal to put the process of dismantling nuclear weapons under international control, he said that only materials created as a result of dismantling should be subject to international control. Facilities used to dismantle nuclear weapons are a state secret, he said. It looks like the Ukrainian president does not know this as well, he said.

Russian Commentary

LD1603200992 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Station Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] Kiev and Moscow have laid down their positions. The Ukrainian leaders say they have no faith in Russia's ability to destroy the weapons and they fear that they may fall into evil hands. Moscow in turn accuses Ukraine of violating the agreement that all tactical nuclear weapons must be withdrawn from Ukraine by 1 July and doubts that Ukraine is prepared to keep its promise to move to a non-nuclear status. That Ukraine's arguments are far from convincing is an opinion shared by the United States Department of State, which has turned to Ukraine for additional clarification. Russia is fully capable of dismantling nuclear warheads. It has plenty of experience in doing so. Most of the nearly 2,000 short and medium range nuclear missiles already destroyed were destroyed in Russia.

Strictly speaking, Ukraine has no nuclear weapons of its own. It has no access to nuclear weapons and cannot use them on its own. According to the General Staff of the Commonwealth Armed Forces, tactical nuclear weapons can be destroyed right where they are deployed, if necessary, whether Ukraine wishes it or not, though this would be undesirable.

The dangerous nuclear ambitions of the former Soviet republics are most pronounced in Ukraine. But Kazakhstan has announced it will pursue a special nuclear policy, though it no longer has such weapons, and Belarus, too, is wavering. Such uncertainty only adds to the fears of the international community tha' several nuclear powers will emerge in place of the former Soviet Union. It undermines faith in official statements. This trend is encouraged by claims in the Western news media that control of nuclear weapons in the Commonwealth is weak and there is a danger of their proliferation. The German weekly "STERN", for example, has alleged that Iran now has two nuclear warheads and middle range launchers obtained in one of the former Soviet Central Asian republics. The allegation has been denied by the Commonwealth military responsible for nuclear weapons. As for Russia, President Yeltsin says it has no secret policy in nuclear matters. It has no intention to use its nuclear status as a trump card in relations with the other Commonwealth members. It will strictly abide by its commitment to gradually abolish nuclear weapons.

The nuclear weapons will be high on the agenda of the Commonwealth summit due to open on the 20th [March] and we may expect some agreement.

Reaction to Iran Receiving Nuclear Warheads

Iran Denies Report

LD1603153692 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 16 Mar 92

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[Text] Tehran March 16 TASS—An Iranian Foreign Ministry official wishing to remain unknown told ITAR-TASS by telephone that information published by the German STERN magazine to the effect that Iran procured two nuclear warheads from one of the Central Asian republics was false.

According to the official, "that is an old Western trick: to blame countries, pursuing independent policies, of things they never committed". Reiterating Iranian president's words, the source said his country stood for the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only.

Sale 'Categorically' Denied

PM1603160792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Generals in Moscow Categorically Deny Sales of Nuclear Weapons"]

[Excerpts] On 15 March the "Vesti" program reported, referring to U.S. intelligence sources, that three aviation missiles with nuclear warheads had been stolen from

Kazakhstan and taken abroad. The weekly STERN carried a similar report. [passage omitted]

IZVESTIYA's correspondent approached for explanations Lieutenant General Sergey Zelentsov, deputy chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command Main Directorate and an eminent nuclear weapons specialist.

"We do not have tactical nuclear weapons in the Central Asian republics or in Kazakhstan," the general stated. "The last warhead was withdrawn from their territories last year. Everything has been checked and verified, and there is nothing missing. Therefore it is simply impossible for anything to be stolen from military storehouses there and resold.

"Operational-tactical weapons were also fully eliminated under international control," Sergey Zelentsov said, both in our country and in the United States. Every last warhead was crushed before the eyes of our partners and in the presence of their experts. So it was impossible to conceal anything or deceive anyone. The U.S. side made no complaints to us.

"As for the reports in the foreign press, it is rather difficult to comment on them. I will make the following supposition. We have a lot of clever people, people familiar with nuclear weapons, too. They could have manufactured anything at all, up to and including models [mulyazh], and sell them as dear as possible, playing on the heightened interest in such items. But I can state one thing with absolute confidence: Such models bear no relation to real nuclear weapons whatsoever."

Armed Forces Command Comments

OW1603162392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1437 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A suggestion by the "US News and World Report" that Kazakhstan has sold 2 nuclear missiles to Iran "needs serious specification", IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent was told at the Command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces.

Military experts have noted that there is no sense in selling strategic missiles, since it is impossible to launch them without a complex stationary launching system. Kazakhstan no longer has operational-tactical missiles at its disposal. Experts believe it may only have tactical missiles untipped with nuclear warheads to offer for sale. However, the CIS Command has provided no information on the issue.

The Kazakh presidential press service told IF that Kazakhstan had repeatedly made official statements on its attitude toward nuclear weapons and would not change its position on non-proliferation of nuclear arms and technologies.

Reports of Nuclear Arms in Caucasus 'Delusion'

LD1603183292 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Colonel-General Viktor Samsonov, chief of the general staff of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces, has denied recent mass media reports about the presence of nuclear weapons in Armenia and Azerbaijan. He described such statements as delusion.

In a talk with a group of military journalists held last weekend, Samsonov said nuclear weapons were moved out of these republics in the summer of 1990 when he was chief of staff of the Transcaucasian Military District.

Describing the situation in Transcaucasia as "exceptionally serious", Samsonov did not rule out that confrontation in this region could sharpen. He pointed out that "the Fourth Army in Azerbaijan and the Seventh Army in Armenia found themselves hostages of the conflict between the two states. They are divided at will, military hardware is stolen and people and weapons seized." He attributed these actions to the absence of "laws on defence, the serviceman's status or the procedure for doing military service."

"If Russia takes control of troops now stationed in Transcaucasia and its president issues an order to move them out of the region, we will leave even if we have to fight our way out of the region and carry out combat operations," Samsonov stressed.

Samsonov expressed concern over the failure to find a common language with Azeri and Armenian political leaders. According to Samsonov, "each side alleges that we help the opposing side".

"I explained to them that we did not give weapons either to one side or another, that they were seized by force. I cannot give weapons to them because the armed struggle is being waged and under the agreement reached by the Commonwealth heads of state all disputable issues should be solved by political means."

As for weapons in the hands of militants, Samsonov said "military equipment and weapons fall into their hands as a result of the seizure or treachery by individual servicemen."

DPRK 'Completed' Nuclear Bomb Development

PM1503171592 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No. 10, Mar 92 p 8

[Reader's letter followed by editorial response citing 1990 KGB document; carried without headline on page devoted to readers' letters, editorial responses; first two paragraphs are reader's letter, third paragraph is editorial comment, remainder of item is "text" of KGB document]

[Text] The Eastern world is agitated. People there are asking: Where can we get some nuclear weapons? All hope is pinned on Kazakhstan, China, and North Korea. Something is already known about the first two, but what about Korea?

[Signed] N. Sotnikov, Volgograd

The following document from KGB archives says something about the danger of ignoring moral principles in politics. It also testifies to the former USSR authorities' awareness of North Korea's nuclear potential. At the same time we never heard the communist leadership protest about this or take steps to prevent the proliferation of the terrible weapons among our "friends." Vladimir Kryuchkov himself "answers" the question with the "succinct" text of the document:

22 February 1990, 363-k. CPSU Central Committee. Top Secret

On the question of the creation of nuclear weapons in the DPRK.

The KGB has received information from a reliable source that scientific and experimental design work to create a nuclear weapon is continuing in the DPRK. The North Korean leaders, specifically Kim Chong-il, who personally control the said research, are trying to achieve military superiority over South Korea as well as pursuing the prestigious aim of becoming one of the states possessing such weapons.

According to information received, development [razrabotka] of the first atomic explosive device has been completed [zavershena] at the DPRK Center for Nuclear Research, located in the city of Yongbong [Yenben—as transliterated] in Pyongan-pukto Province. At present there are no plans to test it, in the interests of concealing from world opinion and from the controlling international organizations the actual fact of the production of nuclear weapons in the DPRK.

The KGB is taking additional measures to verify the above report.

We report this for information.

[Signed] Committee Chairman V. Kryuchkov

[Signed] Checked as correct [verno]: Colonel V.L. Smolov, chief of Department 16, VGU [expansion unknown] 08.02.1990. OS 07-07

(KGB Secretariat. Case 132, vol 4, p 143).

General Rules Out Unsanctioned Nuclear Arms Use

LD1603201892 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] The deputy commander of the CIS combined armed forces, Boris Pyankov, has declared in an interview with Radio Moscow that the CIS strategic nuclear missiles system rules out the unsanctioned use of strategic nuclear weapons. General Pyankov also focused on some problems of dividing the arms and property of the former USSR Army and the issues on financing and manning the CIS combined troops.

CIS 'Cannot' Defend Against Nuclear Strike

LD1503115692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 0950 GMT 15 Mar 92

[From the "Military News" section: "CIS Army Cannot Withstand Nuclear Missile Strike"]

[Text] Moscow—CIS Air Defense (AD) and Anti-Missile Defense systems (AMD) are considerably laxed and cannot withstand a nuclear missile strike, believes CIS JAF [Joint Armed Forces] General Staff commander.

In his March 14 meeting with journalists, CIS JAF General Staff Commander, Col.-Gen. Viktor Samsonov also revealed the fact that the single Air Defense and Anti-Missile Defense was non-existent in CIS, since no progress was achieved in this respect at the Minsk negotiations in strategic defense context. Besides both AD and AMD systems had undergone a considerable toll after the Baltic countries seceded from the former Union, and the southern borders had to be laid bare after repeated assaults committed in the Trans-Caucasian republics and aimed at AD and AMD armed formation units.

Samsonov also pointed out the practical current impossibility of delivering a so-called strike of retaliation.

Russia Said To Lack Nuclear Disarmament Concept

OW1703003292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1410 GMT 16 Mar 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Russia has no definite concept in the nuclear disarmament area. It seeks to step up the process of disarmament, but it's not clear from what considerations. It seems that the speed of this process has become an aim in itself for us." This viewpoint was expressed in an interview with DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent by Aleksandr Savelyev, Vice-President of Russia's National Security and Strategic Research Institute.

With reference to the problems Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker came to face on March 11 in Brussels at disarmament talks the expert said: "Russia can advance maximalist nuclear disarmament proposals for two reasons: either we feel that because of economic difficulties we'll have to make very many cuts in any case, hence the attempts to drag the U.S. along in order to maintain parity with it, or the Russian leadership is leaning in favor of the primitive enough idea that the less arms, the

better. It evidently thinks that all the evil lurks in nuclear weapons. Most likely it entertains both notions."

According to the Russian expert who is also a member of the London-based Institute for Strategic Research, Russia's disarmament concept is not quite clear. "It's only clear that we are in favor of zero, but there is no clarity as to what stage of transition should precede this," he said.

The leadership of the former USSR reached an understanding with the U.S. that the future talks should focus on the efforts to strengthen strategic stability. The Americans mean a perfectly clear thing in this connection: above all cuts in the specific weight of intercontinental ballistic missiles. One of the ways to gain this goal lies through decreasing warheads on each missile. That is why George Bush suggested to Russia that an agreement based on transition to single warhead missiles should be signed. This fully conforms to the American idea of strategic stability.

"With this we agree, while disagreeing with another thing," A. Savelyev went on to say. "There is great asymmetry between us and the U.S. within the strategic triad. The main specific weight of our nuclear warheads belongs to its land-based component, while that of the U.S. to the sea-based component. That is why the Americans pay less attention to reducing it as compared with the land-based one."

The U.S. experienced great-difficulties in the deployment of MX ICBM. So far it has deployed only 50 such missiles, having failed to resolve the problem of their vulnerability to the first strike. If transition to single warhead carriers in the land-based component is accomplished, the Americans will manage to resolve in one stroke two problems: the vulnerability of their MX ICBM and higher security as a whole.

Why does Russia want deep cuts to be spread to the naval forces then? "I think that this is connected with the interests of strategic stability to a lesser extent," said A. Savelyev. "Economic considerations prevail here. We've cut by half the number of operational service submarines and suggested to the U.S. that all submarines should be kept at their bases. However from the viewpoint of stability this could have the opposite effect. The U.S. will never agree to make the invulnerable part of its strategic triad vulnerable."

"In this area our economic considerations gain the upper hand," A. Savelyev said. "We simply cannot afford to have a large number of operational service submarines. The Americans take into account the factor of effectiveness when submarines are referred to. They won't agree to reduce the number of warheads on missiles carried by submarines to one. In such a case the fleet of submarines would become ineffective in terms of cost. Talks on these issues might come to a deadlock. In fact this is what is happening now," said A. Savelyev, Vice-President of Russia's National Security and Strategic Research Institute in conclusion.

Arzamas-16 Mayor Views Nuclear Brain Drain

LD1403045392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1634 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Loskutov]

[Text] Oslo, 13 Mar (TASS)—"The West is exaggerating the danger that Russian nuclear scientists might flee abroad and work for such countries as Iraq or Libya," says Valeriy Takoyev, mayor of Arzamas-16, who is visiting Stavanger in Norway. Not a single leading specialist in the sphere of nuclear technology has left Arzamas-16 to go abroad, he stressed. There are charlatans everywhere, V. Takoyev said. There are people who call themselves nuclear scientists but who in actual fact have only the remotest idea of what the atomic bomb is all about. In scientific circles there is a completely different attitude to this. Talented researchers in the field of nuclear technology will not sell themselves cheap.

According to the newspaper STAVANGER AFTENBLAD, the Arzamas-16 mayor spoke about the town's situation since the visit by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin in February. He did not hide the fact that the West's apprehensions about a "brain drain" from Russian atomic centers have forced the president to take very urgent steps. The Arzamas-16 situation has now stabilized. There is no alarm or panic. At the same time, he acknowledged that although the town has now been opened up for cooperation with Western countries, some specialists will still not be allowed to travel abroad for reasons of state security.

V. Takoyev arrived in Stavanger at the invitation of the local authorities in order to prepare for the international conference on conversion of the nuclear industry and non-proliferation of nuclear technology from the CIS republics. The conference is scheduled to take place between 18 and 20 May. A 30-man delegation representing about 10 "closed cities" in Russia is expected to attend the conference.

Possible S&T Center in Moscow Discussed

PM1703115192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 2

[Major M. Pogorelyy report: "Nuclear Scientists of All Commonwealth Countries, Unite!"]

[Text] The idea of launching an International Science and Technology Center in Moscow, in which Soviet nuclear scientists would work, is becoming increasingly real. This conclusion can be drawn from the results of the work of a conference in Brussels, during which representatives of Russia, the United States, the EC, and Japan discussed this problem.

The conference participants acknowledged the need to quickly prepare and conclude by the end of March an intergovernmental agreement on setting up the center and the procedure for funding and supplying it with programs and orders. In the sides' opinion, the center

will provide an opportunity for leading scientists and designers from the former Soviet Union, who worked on developing mass destruction weapons, delivery vehicles, and other arms systems, to channel their talents into "peaceful areas" in the interests both of their states and of the whole world community. It is primarily a question of arms control, eliminating mass-destruction weapons, and of problems of environmental conservation, public health, and power generation.

Of course, the top-priority aim behind setting up the International Science and Technology Center cannot be concealed—to prevent the drastic deterioration in their living and working conditions from impelling specialists in "dangerous" professions to cooperate with "unprincipled regimes." According to U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker, who visited Chelyabinsk-70 recently, the scientists themselves are voicing a sincere desire "to join the common stream of international scientific life after decades of physical and intellectual isolation and to solve the urgent technical problems facing society as a whole, not just a small part of it—the military-industrial complex."

The United States and the EC are allocating $25 million each to launch the International Science and Technology Center. Russia is providing the requisite premises and services for the center's activity. Japan and, according to preliminary information, Canada are still pondering the extent of their involvement. At the same time the need for other countries' governments, private firms, and international organizations to take an extensive part in the program was stressed.

In the opinion of the conference participants, the International Science and Technology Center may become the headquarters, unifying and coordinating the activity of all Commonwealth states' scientific and design organizations, along with those in Georgia. Firm intent was expressed in Brussels of opening the International Science and Technology Center by the start of this summer.

Vance Mission to Transcaucasus Viewed

PM1603160992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Vance Sets Out for Transcaucasus—But Neither Yerevan Nor Baku Has Returned an Official Verdict on Deploying UN Troops"]

[Text] Washington—Former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance is on his way to the Transcaucasus at the behest of UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali in order to study the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh at first hand, and to define the expediency of UN intervention in this region and the actual degree of intervention.

Vance undertook just such a mission in Yugoslavia, as a direct result of which UN peacekeeping forces were set up to guarantee compliance with cease-fire agreements in the former Yugoslav republics.

In UN corridors it is clearly implied that on this occasion too, apparently, the issue concerns introducing UN troops in the Transcaucasus, especially those regions on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. A few days ago Azerbaijan's foreign minister declared that his government wished this. However, neither Yerevan nor Baku has returned official verdicts on the deployment of UN forces.

On 13 March, after announcing Cyrus Vance's forthcoming mission, Secretary General Butrus Ghali also stated that he had sent a message to the Armenian president and the acting president of Azerbaijan urging them "to show maximum restraint and to strive for a halt to the violence which has erupted in the region."

The UN leadership's decision has coincided with a decision by J. Dienstbier, Czechoslovakia's foreign minister and chairman of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to go on a mediatory mission to the Transcaucasus. In this connection THE NEW YORK TIMES noted that "these combined efforts are being undertaken in a situation where Moscow's mediatory efforts are, to all appearances, collapsing—partly because Azerbaijan believes that the Russians are too favorably disposed toward Armenia."

Vance's mission is presented in the United Nations as another example of the tremendous significance attached by the new secretary general to so-called preventive diplomacy—preventing local disputes escalating into major conflicts.

Strictly speaking, the dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh has already become a large-scale conflict which can only be stopped through resolute and urgent measures. Of course, it is possible to take the Yugoslav option and wait until many cities and villages have virtually been wiped from the face of the earth, and only then bringing in the peacekeeping forces.

Vance's Yugoslav mission took a long time. Would it really be in our interests for his Nagorno-Karabakh mission to drag on for months?

Along with this question emerges another. Supposing Vance recommends that UN troops be deployed after his first visit to the Transcaucasus and the Security Council adopts the corresponding resolution. Will the United Nations have the money to finance this operation, given the fact that numerous peacekeeping operations have drained the UN coffers, which UN member countries are in no hurry to replenish through their obligatory contributions?

A dangerous situation is forming. The former Union accumulated massive debts to the United Nations for previous and current peacekeeping operations in the planet's "hot spots," which in most cases were an extraordinarily long way from its own borders. Sooner or later we will have to pay off all these debts in full, but right now it could turn out that no money will be found to guarantee peace in our former home and to settle the conflict in a region which is far more important from the viewpoint of Russian interests.

Egypt's Mubarak on Relations With Republics

LD1603135692 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Krutikhin]

[Text] Cairo, March 16 TASS—President Husni Mubarak of the Arab Republic of Egypt stated Egypt's desire to develop relations with members of the CIS.

Addressing faculty members and students of Cairo's Ain Shams University on Sunday [15 March] night, he emphasised that Egypt, which maintains good political, economic and cultural relations with all ex-Soviet states, intends not only to continue to keep these relations but to strengthen them, too.

According to the Egyptian leader, it is not for the first time in history that his country can state that it has steady and good relations with all states both in the East and West. This position, he added, enables Egypt to keep sovereignty and dignity in the light of the emergence of a new world order and to play an important role in the region and throughout the world.

Commonwealth

USSR Deputies Hold Sixth Extraodinary Congress

Deputies To Meet in Podolsk

LD1703063492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0616 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Report by correspondent K. Shakhnovich from the Moskva hotel in Moscow on 17 March]

[Summary] Shakhnovich says that "Alksnis, a USSR people's deputy and organizer of the congress, spoke 20 minutes ago and said that the congress will be in Podolsk, in the workers' town of Podolsk, at a place in Podolsk, but the Moscow authorities refused the buses that were to take journalists and other members of the congress's public to the congress. So instead, the congress will take place in one hour's time in the town of Podolsk."

Unable To Find Meeting Site

LD1703120492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1105 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Now a report from ITAR-TASS: For four hours now the organizers of the Sixth USSR Congress of People's Deputies have been unable to find a place to meet. At 0930, two buses with delegates and a whole cavalcade of cars with Russian and foreign journalists left Moscow for Podolsk. When they arrived in this town outside Moscow, however, it became clear that for the town authorities, the decision by the organizing committee to hold the congress in Podolsk was completely unexpected.

After an hour of talks, the congress participants were directed toward a sports center ten kilometers from Podolsk. However, only the army of journalists and a few Russian MP's [members of parliament] who have been invited to the congress set off this time. At the sports center, they were turned away, and furthermore, not in a parliamentary fashion. The buses carrying the delegates were lost somewhere. The prospects for holding the extraordinary congress, which the Russian Supreme Soviet declared to be illegal, are becoming more and more illusory. There is no place for it to be held, except perhaps in an open field, as Russian Deputy Sergey Baburin suggested.

Elects Presidium,Concludes

LD1703144192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Excerpt] It took the former Soviet people's deputies only an hour and a half to hold their sixth emergency congress at Voronovo near Moscow.

The deputies had difficulties in finding a home for their illegal congress. In the settlement of Voronovo they were only met by a small group of curious people and local boys.

The deputies had their meeting at the local club, where even electricity was out of order.

The congress has elected a standing Presidium headed by Sazhi Umalatova, the former chairwoman of the organizing committee. The Presidium has been made up of 14 people, among them General Albert Makashov, known for his extremist nationalist views.

The congress approved some documents where the Commonwealth of Independent States was proclaimed illegal and the Soviet Union was recognized as a geographical reality.

The delegates—whose number is so far unknown—are expected to take part in a meeting in the center of Moscow. The slogans will demand the restoration of the Soviet Union, the resignation of the Russian Government, and the revival of the Communist ideology. [passage omitted]

Republic Leaders Condemn Congress

PM1303214192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "CIS Leaders on Attempt to Convene Congress of People's Deputies of the Former USSR"]

[Text] Our correspondents have asked leaders of the Commonwealth states to give their attitude to the initiative of a group of USSR people's deputies to convene a congress of people's deputies of the former Union 17 March.

Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan:

What kind of congress would that be? First, Kazakhstan recalled its USSR people's deputies. Second, the Fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies established two chambers—the Soviet of Republics and the Soviet of the Union. With the establishment of this structure of the Supreme Soviet the work of the congress was wound up even before the USSR ceased to exist. Therefore I see no legitimate grounds for holding a congress.

It is another matter that if the former USSR people's deputies want to get together, express their opinion, and discuss the situation which has taken shape, they should be allowed to do so, just like any other group of people. But such a gathering could in no way claim the status of a congress.

Mircea Snegur, president of Moldova:

I will say this with utmost clarity: My attitude to the idea of a congress is negative. First, USSR people's deputies in most republics have laid down their powers long ago.

But there is a more important consideration. The intention to convene a congress is nothing but an attempt to reverse the wheel of history. It is necessary, at long last, to proceed from reality—the republics of the former Union have acquired sovereignty, almost all of them have become members of the United Nations. So what is this, are we being summoned back, back into the empire? It will not work.

It is, of course, a matter for the Moscow and Russian authorities to decide whether or not they will allow the congress to take place. Although, frankly speaking, I would not allow it.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of Armenia:

Any attempts to resuscitate the totalitarian regime mean turning back the course of history which is fraught with new cataclysms for us. Convening the congress is out of order.

Nonetheless, I believe that the initiators of this action should have the opportunity to present their political stance to society. I believe this will provide a timely warning to the democratic reform forces about the dangerous ferment which is brewing in society's reactionary circles.

Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Republic of Belarus Supreme Soviet:

The proposed convocation of the congress of USSR people's deputies is a glaring act of lawlessness, a flagrant flouting of the laws of sovereign states which have unequivocally expressed themselves on this score. The initiators of the convocation of the congress, the old guard, have yet again shown their true face: They never abided by the laws and have no intention of doing so. Naturally, I am categorically opposed to this unlawful action.

Should it be permitted or banned?

I believe that there is no need to officially ban it. If this were done, it would enable the initiators to parade as "innocent victims." Although it would be very interesting to know who will finance this gathering and who will provide the premises, and on what grounds.

Medet Sherimkulov, chairman of the Kyrgyz Supreme Soviet:

Who needs this congress now? There is no Union. We have turned over this page of history. People are being stirred up for no good reason. It is necessary to look forward and to organize the new life.

I am against all bans. Let them go ahead. But the organizers of the congress should be aware of the possible consequences of such an event.

Safarali Kendzhayev, chairman of the Republic of Tajikistan Supreme Soviet:

This is an initiative of people's deputies, let them work out whether or not it is necessary. Let them decide. I have no views on this...

Sakhat Muradov, chairman of the Turkmenistan Supreme Soviet:

What kind of congress can there be after self-dissolution? I attended the Fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies and a proposal to this effect was adopted virtually unanimously.

The decision of a handful of people who would like to turn the clock back does in no way express the opinion of all the USSR deputies. I know this not only from my republic. In January of this year the leaders of the Supreme Soviets of the republics which form the CIS met in Moscow and exchanged opinions on holding an extraordinary congress. Almost all of them said: Such a congress is not needed. Thus I would withhold permission to hold it.

Parliament Leaders Reject Congress

PM1703124792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Undated "Statement of Leaders of the Supreme Soviets (Parliaments) of the CIS States"]

[Text] The leaders of the Supreme Soviets of the CIS state their rejection of any forms of restoration of the former USSR and its power structures and regard the call to hold an "extraordinary congress" of former USSR people's deputies as nothing other than an encroachment on their states' sovereignty and interference in their internal affairs, which is particularly intolerable under the conditions of the CIS countries' recognition by the world community.

In signing the agreement on the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the High Contracting Parties noted that the USSR, as a subject of international law and a geopolitical reality ceases to exist. This was confirmed by the 21 December Alma-Ata declaration of the CIS states.

The Supreme Soviets of the Independent States have denounced the 30 December 1922 treaty on the formation of the USSR and decided to repeal their deputies' groups from the Supreme Soviet of the former USSR and to end the powers of its deputies' corps.

The call of the initiative group of former USSR people's deputies to convene the "sixth congress" is perplexing, since there is no legal base for holding such a "congress" and the actions of the former USSR deputies are of an illegal nature.

The chairmen of the Supreme Soviets (Parliaments) of the CIS states ask the heads of the CIS states to take steps which would prevent the revival of the organs of the former USSR that have died a natural death.

Signed:
R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet
B.G. Ararktsyan, chairman of the Republic of Armenia Supreme Soviet
S.A. Abdildin, chairman of the Republic of Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet
M.Sh. Sherimkulov, chairman of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan Supreme Soviet
A.K. Moshanu, chairman of the Republic of Moldova Parliament
S.K. Kendzhayev, chairman of the Republic of Tajikistan Supreme Soviet
S.N. Muradov, chairman of the Republic of Turkmenistan Supreme Soviet
Sh.M. Yuldashev, chairman of the Republic of Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet
I.S. Plyushch, chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet
S.S. Shushkevich, chairman of the Republic of Belarus Supreme Soviet.

Interregional Deputies Oppose Congress

LD1603110692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Correspondent A. Poklad] Members of the Interregional Deputies Group held a news conference in Moscow's House of Journalists today. An appeal by the group to the parliaments and peoples of the CIS and to the people's deputies of the former Soviet Union was presented at the news conference. The appeal, in particular, contains a call not to take part in the forthcoming so-called congress of USSR people's deputies.

Anatoliy Sobchak noted that the former state entity, like the body of USSR deputies, passed into history with the setting up of the CIS. This congress can yield no other results but the exacerbation of the political situation. Umalatova and Golik are the metastases of Lukyanov, Poltoranin noted. Mikhail Poltoranin said that a request to hold a rally on 18 March has already been received. The theme of the rally is a protest against the cruel behavior of the Moscow authorities during the 17 March rally.

Journalists' questions also touched upo the future of the Interregional Deputies Group. Participants in the news conference were unanimous here: the Interregional Deputies Group, as part of the former body of deputies of the USSR, is history. However, the group can currently step into the political arena in its new capacity. What kind of capacity? Opinions were divided in this respect. For example, Anatoliy Sobchak proposed that some kind of political structure be set up on the basis of the group, aimed at backing the Russian Government. Other proposals favored the group becoming a kind of a discussion club which would unite democratic forces of Russia and of the CIS in general.

Agenda Summarized for CIS Summit in Kiev

LD1703093992 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Excerpt] The working group of the Council of Heads of the CIS states and governments is finalizing its work on the documents to be examined in Kiev. Our correspondent, Petr Makritskiy, reports from Minsk, the coordinating center of the Commonwealth:

[Makritskiy] We are already aware that a fairly voluminous packet of documents and issues will be presented at the Kiev meeting of the heads of state. Some are military issues and no doubt these will occupy a central place as, evidently, will all those matters on which the leaders of the independent states failed to reach agreement in Minsk. It is planned to submit proposals from the republics on the protection of state borders for examination. Also on the agenda are certain problems of an economic nature, as well as agreements on scientific and technical cooperation, the organization of economic relations, and conducting an agreed policy on standardization and certification in the iron and steel industry. [passage omitted]

Turkmen President Will Not Attend

OW1703122592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1055 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Turkmenistan's president Saparmurad Niyazov will not attend the CIS summit to be held in Kiev on March 20. The president's press service reports that the Turkmen delegation to the summit will be led by Chairman of the parliament Sakhat Muradov. The corresponding decision was taken on March 16 at a joint session of the presidential council and of the parliament's presidium.

The press service informed IF [INTERFAX] that Saparmurad Niyazov had not commented on his decision.

Russia To Propose Security Council

LD1703141192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in Englishdiscrd 1259 GMT 17 Mar 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Moscow—Russian delegation is expected to make a proposal on creation of the CIS security council at the Kiev summit meeting.

According to some information, the security council, subordinated to the heads of state council, will include a group of mapping out military policy, a group of general planning of military strategy, a group of nuclear planning and a group of general rapid planning.

PF [POSTFACTUM] learned on March 16 that a package of documents, worked out for March 20 meeting by experts of the CIS United Armed Forces General Staff, has not passed a parliamentary expertise. Practically all 10 documents were voted down by the Russian state committee on defense issues as aimed at rebirth of the Soviet Armed Forces. Experts assume that it is hardly possible to amend the documents within the remaining time limit, not to say about working out new ones.

Further on CIS Council of Government Heads

PM1703113992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[RIA report under the general heading "Session of Council of CIS Government Heads": "Important Agreements Signed"]

[Text] Moscow—The conference was addressed by Moldova Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi. He gave an account of events in the Dnestr region, which, in his opinion, "were prearranged."

V. Muravschi asked his colleagues not to allow any distortion of the events taking place in Moldova. According to him, certain mass media on the territory of Russia are noted for this. He named the "Ostankino" Television Company and the newspaper PRAVDA and made a protest in this connection, which was duly noted.

After this foretaste, the participants of the session of the Council of Government Heads started discussing the items on the agenda. During the discussion of the first item—pension guarantees—opinions were divided. Ukraine and Moldova relate the problem of providing guarantees to the sphere of bilateral treaties, although the draft agreement accepted by some other states envisages the elaboration of general rules.

Different approaches and positions are a normal phenomenon. But when too many occur, it makes one wonder whether it is due to uncertainty about the main question—to what extent the coordinating role of the CIS should involve administrative functions.

The Moscow conference decided to postpone the signing of the key package of documents on preserving economic links until the meeting of Commonwealth countries' leaders in Kiev 20 March.

It was also decided that CIS countries' government experts would meet in Kiev 18-19 March to discuss questions of pricing and railroad links between the Commonwealth countries.

The Moscow conference of CIS countries' government heads was characterized by the fact that the discussion of the most important questions did not encounter any particular problems, while the questions which were considered less important gave rise to unexpected differences. That was Russian Vice Premier Valeriy Makharadze's assessment of the conference proceedings. His explanation was that the documents that were presented had not been properly prepared, especially the main documents of the meeting—the agreement on preserving economic links.

The Russian delegation went along with Ukraine on this question. According to the vice premier, what Russia takes exception to in the draft is the intention of some states to strictly monitor the activities of enterprises working on interstate deliveries. Makharadze would prefer a system which determines only the range of interstate deliveries and their volumes.

The heads and representatives of the governments signed a number of important agreements: On the principles and mechanism for servicing the former USSR's internal debt, on the principles of customs policy, on the agreed principles of tax policy, on scientific and technical cooperation, on having an agreed policy in the sphere of standardization, weights and measures, and certification, and on guaranteed pension rights for citizens.

Economic Ties Agreement Postponed

OW1303185192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1659 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a conference of the heads of parliaments of Commonwealth States in Moscow the signing of a packet of documents on the preservation of economic ties was postponed until the summit of Commonwealth leaders in Kiev March 20.

The parliamentary leaders also decided to hold a meeting of experts from Commonwealth States in Kiev March 18-19 to discuss pricing and rail connections between Commonwealth States.

Wednesday [18 March] in Kiev the coordinating group of the meeting of CIS leaders will meet to develop a final agenda for the summit.

At the evening session of parliament the leaders decided to arrange a meeting of CIS leaders in Tashkent in late April. In the course of two-day talks in the Uzbek capital 11 defence and 14 economic questions will be discussed.

The Russian Vice Prime Minister Valeriy Makharadze said at the Moscow conference of parliamentary heads discussion of the most important questions went smoothly, while less significant questions sparked unexpected disagreement. He attributed this to the fact that documents were presented in a rather rough form, especially the main document on the preservation of economic ties.

The Russian delegation agreed with the Ukrainian delegation on the economic question. The Vice Prime Minister said that Russia was dissatisfied with the intention of certain governments to strictly control the activities of

organizations involved in interstate trade. Makharadze said a system which determines the circle of interstate shipments is biased.

Another draft which must be completed is the protocol on the foreign debt and assets. Russia and Ukraine agreed on this question. An addition to the document circulated earlier stipulates that the interstate council overseeing the debt and assets must prepare a proposal on the criteria and principles of distributing the foreign property of the former Soviet Union in the next three months. In the draft presented by Russia and Ukraine the two countries stipulate that they become co-founders of the interstate council overseeing the foreign debt as they are its main members. It was proposed that a third founder be appointed from the other members of the council on a rotating basis.

It was also proposed that Vnesheconombank retain the rights of a so-called representative bank responsible for repayment of the foreign debt. Decisions of the interstate council must receive 805 of the votes in order to be passed.

Ukraine agreed to joint responsibility and is prepared to sign the memorandum on payment of the foreign debt signed in Moscow October 28, 1991.

Ukrainian Premier Outlines USSR Debt Repayment

MK1403125392 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 1

[Vera Kuznetsova report including interview "Specially for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA" with Ukrainian Premier Vitold Fokin under the "CIS" rubric; place, date not given: "G-7 Will Recoup Its Debt"]

[Text] Prior to the meeting of the CIS heads of government in Moscow, the G-7 countries, according to Ukrainian Premier Vitold Fokin, held confidential consultations with Russia and Ukraine on the problem of paying back the former USSR's foreign debt. After this, clearly, the two republics had no choice but to sign (within the CIS framework) the agreement on the USSR's foreign debt and assets.

Meeting without "politicians," representatives of the CIS governments held productive talks. Agreements on pension provision, on coordinating policy in the taxation and pricing fields, and on servicing the internal debt were concluded. A customs union has been formed. Admittedly, Ukraine and Armenia have not joined it, deciding on this score to sign bilateral treaties with former USSR republics. Specialists were instructed to reach an agreement about a banking union and prepare a protocol for the next meeting. After Kiev the heads of government intend to meet in April in Tashkent.

[Kuznetsova] What is the mechanism for liability for repaying the former USSR's foreign debt?

[Fokin] Joint liability is a guarantee for Western creditors that insolvent republics will repay their debts. The eight former USSR republics that signed the memorandum of 28 October recognized Russia as this guarantor. At one stage Ukraine offered to bear liability for the remaining republics: As if to say let's split the debt roughly like this—Ukraine will be liable for 20 percent and Russia for 80 percent. And the G-7 countries would have been dealing with just two rather than 15 entities. Now the mechanism for servicing the debt is as follows: A special subdivision of the Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity] is being chosen to handle nothing but the debt, an Interstate Observer Council is being set up with Ukraine as the cochairman, and the bank director will be accountable to this organ alone. And henceforth the Vneshekonombank will no longer be accountable to the Central Bank of Russia.

[Kuznetsova] But will the G-7 countries agree to this mechanism?

[Fokin] That is a crafty question, because I have to give an affirmative answer and at the same time I am not allowed to say what we agreed.

[Kuznetsova] Does the agreement on coordination in the pricing sphere mean that Russia is prepared to compromise and there is no longer any need to fear the "oil monopoly" diktat?

[Fokin] This is just the beginning. I have held two days of talks with the principal gas and oil producers. They agreed with my arguments but, citing the fact that they have to save their sector, they stated their intention to raise prices. This is economic nonsense: As soon as they increase costs, prices creep up after them—the price of electricity... and then you get...

[Kuznetsova] Hyperinflation?

[Fokin] Yes. And you and I, the consumers, will see prices rise five times above current levels.

Baltic Leaders Discuss Troops, USSR Debt

OW1703143592 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1351 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The process of talks between Russia and the Baltic states on the withdrawal of troops under its jurisdiction is unsatisfactory, said the Baltic Council in a statement adopted on Monday [16 March] in Jurmala at a session attended by the heads of the parliaments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia: Vytautas Landsbergis, Anatolijs Gorbunovs and Arnold Ruutel.

According to the statement on troops withdrawal, this poses a threat to the sovereignty of Baltic states. The Baltic countries' demand made on October 20 that Soviet troops be withdrawn from the capitals of the three republics at once remains ignored. The troops continue

to behave as invaders. They fail to respect the sovereignty and legislation of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Troop movements are conducted without coordination with the governments of the 3 states. The troops continue to do harm to the local environment. The Baltic Council also finds it objectionable that the border troops of the former USSR continue to be deployed on the sovereign territory of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, preventing their own forces from guarding their frontiers. Besides, the Baltic states insist that compensations should be paid to them for the property of their armies seized in 1940, along with compensations for other damage inflicted by the presence of the Soviet army in the Baltic region.

The document will be forwarded to the presidents of the former Soviet republics with the request to consider it at the CIS summit to be held in Kiev on Friday [20 March].

The Baltic Council adopted a statement on the issue of the former USSR's foreign debt. According to the statement, the Baltic states are no successors to the former USSR, and therefore they cannot be responsible for the servicing and repayment of its foreign debt. The statement also expresses protest against the Russian Federation's unilateral decision to block the hard currency assests of the subjects of the former USSR in the Soviet bank for external economic relations.

The Baltic Council expressed solidarity with Russia's attitude to the plans to convene a congress of USSR people's deputies on March 17 which were proclaimed illegal. The Baltic Council qualified the intention to conduct such a congress as an attempt to restore the totalitarian empire threatening the independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

At their summit the leaders of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia also adopted a statement which calls for proclaiming the Baltic Sea area a zone free from nuclear weapons.

Bankers Agree To Coordinate Financial Policy

LD1703132992 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Petr Tsyrendorzhiyev]

[Text] Moscow March 17 [dateline as received]—Heads of national banks of members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) decided to conduct a coordinated policy in finance. They intend to form a coordination organ for the purpose, Vyacheslav Solovov, deputy chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, told ITAR-TASS on Tuesday [17 March].

Experts in the Russian bank believe this task is topical. Some political and economic decisions of governments of Commonwealth countries are made without consultations with banks and are not implemented or else ineffective. Such is, for instance, the freeing of prices not ensured by reserves of cash money.

Experts of most national banks note goods shortages and unsatisfied solvent demand of the population. They believe resolving this problem requires coordinated actions of legislative and executive bodies with national banks of the Commonwealth countries. This is the main and indespensible condition for the stabilisation of the ruble.

"There must be full accord of all the sides when banks make decisions having the impact on the situation in the ruble zone", Solovov said.

Interstate Railroad Transport Council Meets

PM1603152592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 92 First Edition p 8

[Aleksandr Davidyants report under the "Conferences" rubric: "Transport Workers Unite"]

[Text] The first session of the CIS States' Council for Railroad Transport, which was formed in accordance with the agreement on railroad transport coordination organs signed by the heads of government of these states in Minsk 14 February 1992, has been held in Moscow.

Leaders of the railroad administrations of all the Commonwealth countries participated in the work of the council. A representative of the Transcaucasus Railroad (Republic of Georgia) was present as an observer.

A number of documents defining the sphere of activity and the work procedure of the Council for Railroad Transport and its executive committee were agreed upon. These new organs, founded on equality of rights and mutual responsibility of partners, will coordinate the work of railroad transport at the interstate level, adopt agreed decisions on all problems that arise, and ensure the CIS states' stable economic ties. G. Fadeyev, Russian Federation's minister of railways, was unanimously elected chairman of the Council for Railroad Transport for 1992.

Military

CIS Officer Supports Russian Defense Ministry

LD1703084492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0653 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov: "Chief of the General Staff of the CIS United Armed Forces Thinks the Creation of a Russian Ministry of Defense Will Help Stop the Collapse of the Armed Forces"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Mar (TASS)—"The short-sighted policy of certain leaders has led to the first strategic echelon of defense being broken," Colonel General Viktor Samsonov, chief of the General Staff of the United Armed Forces of the CIS, admitted Monday [16 March] in a conversation with a group of military journalists.

In creating a first strategic echelon, he said, the USSR invested huge resources for many years in the Kiev, Belarussian, and Transcarpathian Military Districts and groups of forces abroad. Now people even have to be removed from the radar stations in Trancaucasia where guerillas are attacking numerically small subunits.

"And so everything has been weakened," the general concluded, "and if military actions have to be carried out, then hope can be pinned only on the forces that are in the center of Russia."

The general called the question of the call-up a "sore" problem. The bringing up to strength of the troops of the Commonwealth has dropped to the 50 percent mark. There is already nothing with which to guard war materiel. There are units where officers are carrying out guard duty.

This is why Col. Gen. Viktor Samsonov has supported Russia creating its own defense ministry. "I am in favor of any entity that would be subject to the law and would be operative. We cannot carry on like this or there will be a total collapse," he said. Asked whether he is getting on with the Commonwealth states' defense ministers, Viktor Samsonov answered in the negative: "There is no one that I have served with or shared a mess tin with, not even those that I deal with every day. These people have come from college civil defense departments. What strikes me is their purely consumerist attitude to the Army. For example, they are interested in how many vehicles and buildings they will get, who will be in charge of the military's trade organization... they do not worry their heads about the men or about combat training. Many of them are casual—only at a stretch can they be called professionals. I have absolutely nothing to talk to them about."

Shaposhnikov Interviewed on Republic Armies

LD1603221392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief, Joint Armed Forces of the CIS] I have been in contact with the presidents of the republics for six months, and I have been trying to find out why they now need to create an army and, what is more, in such a hasty way. I just cannot understand it. They say, first, this is an attribute of statehood. And then just to say that this is an attribute of statehood, at the same time emphasizing that there will not be a new State Committee for a State of Emergency if the Army is subordinate to me alone. [sentence as heard] I say, yes, esteemed president, let's get together and work out a mechanism.

[Announcer] The commander in chief is on vacation in Stavropol Kray and gave this interview to Valeriy Kuts before Yeltsin's latest decree was signed.

Shaposhnikov Criticizes Ukraine Claims To Fleet

LD1603132992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 16 Mar

[Interview with Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, by unidentified interviewer, from the "Novosti" newscast; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Interviewer] What is the future of the Russian Fleet?

[Shaposhnikov] Well, the situation with the fleet is generally complex here, to put it bluntly. We are currently engaged in intensive talks with the Ukrainian leadership. On the whole, our position is the following: the Black Sea Fleet must be part of the armed forces, of the CIS strategic forces, and not belong to any single country in particular. It is not right when the Ukraine claims, let us say, a larger share of the Fleet than other presidents do, for example—this is not right. Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, Kyrgyzstan, Armenia, and Azerbaijan could also lay claims to this particular share of the Fleet.

Further on Armed Forces' Council Meeting

Urges Action From CIS Summit

PM1703095992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 2

["Appeal to Officers' Assemblies and the Officers Corps of the CIS Troops and Forces" by Coordinating Council of CIS Joint Armed Forces Officers' Assemblies, dated 12 March 1992]

[Text] The first steps in the activity of the Coordinating Council have shown that its adopted appeals and statements to the CIS heads of state on problems pertaining to the life and activity of the Armed Forces have gone unnoticed.

The army is continuing to break up, its defense potential is falling, and interethnic conflicts in which servicemen are perishing are broadening and worsening.

The officer corps has found itself barred from taking part in resolving matters pertaining to its own social and legal security.

In these conditions the Coordinating Council considers it necessary:

1. To ensure that the CIS heads of state adopt a package of military agreements at the meeting in Kiev 20 March this year, the top priorities being:

a) a treaty on Commonwealth collective security;

b) a decision by the Council of CIS Heads of State on the fundamentals of CIS military doctrine;

c) a decision by the Council of CIS Heads of State on creating an interstate committee on military policy and reform;

d) an agreement on the status of CIS Joint Armed Forces servicemen.

2. To determine a mechanism for implementing interstate relations on defense issues and supervising their implementation.

3. To suspend the creation of national armed forces until decisions are adopted on defense matters at interstate level and the military-political situation is stabilized.

4. In regions of interethnic conflicts and areas with a grave military-political situation troop units' officers' assemblies are to adopt decisions on protecting the life, honor, and dignity of servicemen and members of their families and securing arms and military property by every means at their disposal, including the use of weapons.

The Coordinating Council appeals for support to Officers' Assemblies and the entire officer corps in the CIS troops and forces, and it proposes holding assemblies before 20 March to determine their attitude toward the processes taking place within the Armed Forces and submitting the decisions adopted to the Coordinating Council.

If the demands made by Officers' Assemblies on top-priority military matters are disregarded once again by the CIS heads of state at the meeting in Kiev 20 March, the Coordinating Council will announce the convocation of an extraordinary All-Army Officers' Assembly.

Today it is still possible to influence the situation within the Armed Forces by combined efforts; tomorrow it will be too late.

[Signed] Coordinating Council of CIS Joint Armed Forces Officers' Assemblies

12 March 1992

Chairman Addresses Council

PM1603151092 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Mar 92 p 2

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Zyubin report: "Coordinating Council of Officers' Assemblies: You Should Not Push Us into Politics"]

[Text] We must evaluate all matters concerning us in the light of the All-Army Officers' Assembly—this sentence from the report of Captain 1st Rank A. Mochaykin, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Officers' Assemblies, in my view defined very clearly the methodology for an assessment of the work which has been done. The instructions and demands delivered from the podium of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses and the spirit of brotherhood among officers which it was possible to feel there must not be forgotten. It is only natural that the Coordinating Council began its second session with an analysis of the extent to which the stance of the All-Army Officers' Assembly was reflected in the agreements and documents adopted in Minsk. The stance and tactics for the work in the second round of talks, which will take place in Kiev 20 March, were also determined.

On the subject of the Minsk meeting, Capt. 1st Rank A. Mochaykin emphasized that it took place in a complex atmosphere. On its eve experts from the independent states' defense ministries and committees had agreed on a package of documents, but a number of political leaders had made demands which essentially canceled them out. It would have appeared that an impasse had developed, but thanks to the mature and healthy attitude of N. Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, and Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, the mutual mistrust was successfully overcome and as a result 10 documents on military-political questions were signed. The CIS countries' presidents and military leadership listened to the officer corps' position.

It is no easy matter to assess in an unequivocal manner the military-political decisions adopted in Minsk which determine the status and whole future existence of the Army and Navy, A. Mochaykin said. The Ukrainian, Azerbaijani, and Moldovan leaders raised the question of creating their own armies, and by so doing caused the Armed Forces to be divided. Having adopted this decision and evidently having a deep understanding of its consequences, the heads of all the CIS states signed a special statement in which they pledged not to allow the use of or the threat to use force, and to resolve all contentious issues which arise by peaceful means.

An accord was adopted on creating Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces, comprising Strategic Forces (all 11 CIS countries are involved here) and General-Purpose Forces (excluding the armies of the three above-named states).

Assessing the socio-legal normative acts, the speaker emphasized that the proposals drawn up by the Coordinating Council were examined in the course of the talks and to a great extent were reflected in the Agreement on Social and Legal Guarantees for Servicemen, Persons Discharged From Military Service, and Members of Their Families. In particular one of the most important questions was resolved—that of citizenship.

The Minsk meeting's results give some hope for an improvement in the material and living conditions of the officer corps and their families, first and foremost in terms of the provision of housing, the payment of pensions, and so on. The Commonwealth states have pledged during the current year to elaborate and adopt mutually agreed acts on the social protection of servicemen transferred to the reserve and members of their families.

The Minsk meeting left behind many unclear points and unresolved questions. It is not fortuitous that it is planned to discuss more than 20 documents in Kiev, 12 of them on military issues. They include such documents as the legal foundations of the Joint Armed Forces High Command's activities, the problem of the Black Sea Fleet, and a number of others. In the speaker's opinion it is now necessary to draw up a major and fundamental document on the CIS' military doctrine, which would reflect the concept of the CIS' common national security. Without such a document it is impossible to put together any kind of joint work whatsoever on military questions.

The Coordinating Council chairman also dwelt on issues which it is necessary to scrutinize on the eve of the Kiev meeting. The opinion was expressed that the creation of national armies requires a transitional period up to 1995. This is necessary so that a mechanism can be developed at all levels for transferring Armed Forces units to the independent states' jurisdiction. And also so that officers can determine their own futures on the basis of laws which are already in effect and have not merely been promised.

Such an approach will allow us to avoid a confrontation of the kind which has now developed over the Black Sea Fleet and the excesses connected with the unauthorized transfer of aircraft out of Ukraine. Officers should do everything in order to prevent civil war.

On the subject of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Dnestr area Capt. 1st Rank A. Mochaykin noted with alarm that persistent attempts are being made there to draw servicemen into the conflict. It is his opinion that it is not right to allow Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Moldova to form their own armies until the conflicts are resolved by political means. Otherwise much blood will be spilt. A total of 115 servicemen, including 33 officers, have already died in the regions of interethnic conflict in the years 1991-1992. It is the politicians who should resolve these conflicts, but by firing at the military the gunmen are forcing them against their will to participate in the solution of political problems.

We are being pushed, drawn into politics, A. Mochaykin said, but now in connection with a different theme, as he appraised the confrontation which took place in Moscow 23 February. He was critical of the Moscow authorities' decision.

The Coordinating Council chairman announced those demands in the area of social and legal protection which the officers' collectives are raising before the heads of state and the CIS Joint Armed Forces leadership. The most important of these are: to work out and adopt a status for servicemen, to determine a mechanism for officers to participate in the process of privatization, to ensure the free transfer of living space occupied by servicemen to private property, and to solve the problem of housing and pensions for officers who are discharged.

The housing problem is particularly acute. At the moment there are 200,000 men without apartments in the Armed Forces.

The problem of the Navy was also touched on in the report. In particular it was said that the planned reduction of the fleet by 34 percent represents its effective collapse. Even now the Navy is "laid up," and our newfound "friends" are on combat patrol by our shores hour by hour.

The speaker expressed the opinion that it is necessary to adopt new regulations on the Officers' Assemblies.

In the debate, which at times was emotional, the spread of opinions was very great.

In Colonel V. Kovalev's opinion it is not right to get bogged down in social questions alone. After all at the moment attempts are being made to replace such sanctified concepts as duty, honor, and loyalty. The officer criticized the Coordinating Council Presidium, saying that it is necessary to react in an energetic manner to events in the country and to make an assessment of them. The chairman of the Officers' Assemblies for the Northwestern Group of Forces dwelt on problems of withdrawing troops from the Baltic countries. Social guarantees for officers are necessary, or else serious complications are inevitable—this is his conclusion.

There were many people who wished to speak in the discussion of the report and the first two items on the agenda. Each officer was seething, as they say, about the present state of the Army and Navy and the position of servicemen and their families.

I want in particular to dwell on the criticism of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office which was voiced. It basically amounted to saying that we devote too little space in our pages to explaining the Coordinating Committee's work and do not publish all the documents it has turned out. It is necessary in this connection to point out that the editorial office sees the Coordinating Committee as a highly prestigious public body, and intends to continue to cover its work. And if sometimes we do not give an account of official documents, this is in no way because we do not understand their significance or are trying to minimize it. This only happens because KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, taking into consideration the readers' interests, is called on to cover the whole range of events connected with Army, defense, and security problems, which are developing dynamically in the CIS. Space in newspapers is, as you know, limited.

In the morning of 12 March discussion of the first two items on the agenda continued. Then Colonel General B. Omelichev, first deputy chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces General Staff, and representatives of other CIS Joint Armed Forces directorates and services addressed members of the Coordinating Council and answered questions.

It is proposed that such documents as appeals to the CIS Joint Armed Forces personnel and to the Commonwealth heads of government be adopted.

We will describe the second day's work in more detail in one of the newspaper's subsequent issues.

'Heated' Debate at Session

PM1703110192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Mar 92 pp 1, 2

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Dokuchayev report under the general heading "After Minsk, Officers Display Patience and Want To Be Heard in Kiev": "Coordinating Council: Proposals Formulated"]

[Text] The second session of the Coordinating Council of CIS Joint Armed Forces Officers Assemblies came to a close 12 March in Moscow.

The meeting in Minsk by no means justified the officers' hopes and, for that reason, the Red Banner Hall of the M.V. Frunze Soviet Army Central House was filled with the pain that members of the Coordinating Council had brought from all military districts, fleets, and groups of forces. How could there fail to be tremendous concern for the fate of their comrades in arms when military men are dying beneath the gunmen's bullets? At the height of the officer forum's work Major General Yevgeniy Razinkov, member of the Coordinating Council Presidium, arrived from Armenia; he flew out there as member of the High Command [Glavkomat] delegation to release 10 officers from an antiaircraft missile brigade. He described the anarchy in the Transcaucasus.

Before the start of the second day's work I asked some of the participants to answer the following question: "What worries military people ahead of the meeting of the CIS heads of state in Kiev?"

Colonel Vladimir Grinev, deputy chief of the Army Combat Training Department:

"I am worried that the fine documents prepared by the High Command will once again not be adopted. The budget and social protection for servicemen all cost money. Money is now tight in our homeland. Hence my pessimism. I think that there will be another meeting after the one in Kiev, where defense issues will once again be the main topic..."

Colonel Viktor Kudryavtsev, deputy head of the CIS Committee for Border Protection Center for Social and Legal Work:

"I am worried by the future of our people resident on the territory of the Commonwealth states and the future of our long borders. Something that has taken centuries to form is being broken up. We would like there still to be unified approaches and unified principles toward border protection, and for our accumulated experience in this matter to be preserved. I hope that the draft documents on questions of a unified approach to border protection, the status of border troops, and joint command will be adopted."

Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Trofimov, commander of an individual helicopter regiment (Kiev Military District):

"I am worried by our troops' position in the Baltic and the Transcaucasus... And the future of soldiers in Ukraine who have not sworn the oath, I am one of them. The mechanism for transferring these officers to a new area has not been formulated... I would like the whole set of documents that were not examined in Minsk to be adopted in Kiev..."

Army and Navy troops' troubles and pains were also discussed in the course of a discussion of the first two points on the agenda. The results of the Minsk meeting of the Commonwealth heads of state, the tasks of the council preparing the council's representatives for the meeting in Kiev, and the position of servicemen and members of their families in areas of the Transcaucasus, the Dnestr region, and the Baltic countries were discussed. How can one fail to understand the alarm felt by Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Safonik, military construction workers' representative—questions of funding and staffing are not being resolved. This is at a time when the housing problem is highly acute—300,000 servicemen's families do not have a roof over their head. Military construction personnel built 60,000 apartments last year, while civilian departments provided roughly 11,000. If the military-construction complex is destroyed, the housing problem will worsen...

The speech by Lieutenant Colonel Valeriy Pistsov from the Transcaucasian Military District was equally alarming. His regiment is not fully staffed and in April or May, when 140 enlisted men and NCO's are discharged into the reserve, it may be left without junior specialists at all. Territorial battalions set up in Azerbaijan are starting to terrorize his colleagues.

In short, the debate was heated. The Coordinating Council adopted an appeal to the Commonwealth heads of state and an appeal to officers assemblies and officers in CIS troops and forces (published in today's edition). A decision was also adopted "On the Position of Servicemen, Veterans of the Armed Forces, and Members of Their Families in the Baltic States, the Transcaucasus, Moldova, and Individual Areas of Ukraine, and the Observance of Servicemen's Rights in These Regions."

The Coordinating Council also formulated proposals for inclusion in interstate legislative acts on the social and legal position of servicemen. They will be conveyed to the Commonwealth heads of state at the meeting in Kiev 20 March. The council has sent Captain First Rank Aleksandr Mochaykin and Maj. Gen. Yevgeniy Razinkov to this meeting.

Troops, Arms in Transcaucasus Hard To Determine

PM1603140392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Video report by T. Aldoshina and N. Kuznetsova, identified by caption]

[Text] [Announcer] It is interesting that almost nobody in Russia seems to know the whereabouts of CIS nuclear weapons and how many CIS troops there are in the Transcaucasus. Today, for example, our correspondent toured the whole of the Russian Supreme Soviet, but nobody there knew anything specific about troops in the Transcaucasus.

[Aldoshina] Detailed information concerning CIS troops in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia is not available to the permanent missions of those republics, even though they would like to have such information. We were told at the Azerbaijani mission that, to their shame, they do not know how many CIS servicemen there are in Azerbaijan.

As regards the type of weapons of the Red Banner Caspian Fleet, and also of the CIS 4th Army deployed in Azerbaijan, it is known that the weaponry included (Shilka) anti-aircraft missile batteries, and at least one such installation which belonged previously to the 366th Motorized Infantry Regiment is now located at Stepanakert and is being used to bombard the city of Agdam.

When we asked about nuclear weapons in the republic we were told that the statement by Russian Vice President Rutskoy came as a surprise to all Azerbaijanis. Hitherto it was known that there were nuclear weapons in Azerbaijan, but only until January 1990.

It is known at the Armenian mission that there are subunits of the CIS 7th Army in Leninakan, Kirovakan, Yerevan and other parts of the republic. We were also informed that the military leadership of the former USSR always emphasized that there were no nuclear weapons in Armenia.

General Vows 'Non-Interference' in Dubossary

OW1703053792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1917 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldovan national radio Monday [16 March] repeatedly broadcast the report by the commander of the 14th Army General Yuriy Netkachev on the strict non-interference of CIS forces in .he conflict in the Dubossary region. He condemned the confiscation of weapons by extremists from Dnestr Region who are attempting to prolong the conflict.

The headquarters of the 14th Army told "INTERFAX" today that part of the weapons confiscated (about 5%) were returned Monday.

At the same time residents of the village of Kochier report that the commander's loud reports were disguising support for the military units in Dnestr Region.

Army Plays Down Allegations of Maneuvers

LD1603091992 Riga Radio Riga International in English 1830 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Excerpt] The Northwest Army Group of the former Soviet troops has played down allegations of increased military maneuvers within the republic, voiced by the Latvian Defense Ministry, saying that the movements of military columns in the republic of Latvia are connected with the normal provision of the Russian army units with food, fuel and necessary equipment.

Leaders of the army groups also said they had coordinated with the Latvian side the crossing of Latvia's borders from Lithuania by army units being withdrawn from the neighboring state. Latvian authorities, however, claimed to have had no knowledge of any coordination. Representatives of the Latvian Defense Ministry of late have repeatedly spoken of suspicious activities of the Russian troops stationed in Latvia over the past few days and of violations of Latvian and Estonian border regulations by the former Soviet Army. [passage omitted]

Draft on General Military Regulations Completed

PM1703132792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 1

[Report by Colonel General B. Pyankov, deputy commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces and chairman of the Commission for the Preparation of Draft Provisional General Military Regulations: "Joint Armed Forces Troops Will Live By New Regulations After They Are Brought Into Force"]

[Text] Troops' life and activity in peacetime and war, as you know, are regulated by such normative-legal documents as general military regulations. They absorbed the summed up experience of past wars and countless exercises, and the achievements of military-theoretical thinking. Nevertheless the general military regulations ratified in 1975 have become outdated today. Moreover, they have not been published for 10 years. There are servicemen among the troops, officers included, with a poor knowledge of the regulations' provisions. Of course, this makes it difficult for them to fulfill their obligations.

In numerous letters received by supreme organs of state power and the High Command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces and published in the mass media, servicemen demand that the bringing into force of the new general military regulations that have been being formulated since 1985 be speeded up. Eight versions of the draft regulations were formulated in this period. In 1989 KRASNAYA ZVEZDA published draft interior service regulations, disciplinary regulations, and part of the manual of garrison and guard duties. More than 9,000

proposals were received while they were being discussed. They have been summed up, analyzed, and coordinated with lawyers, sociologists, military scientists, and specialists from interested directorates and examined on several occasions at sessions of the Commission for the Preparation of Regulations and the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command Collegium. Work on the drafts is complete today.

In the commission's opinion, during the transitional period it is advisable to have unified provisional regulation documents. Their entry into force will make it possible to regulate troops' life and activity in the complex domestic political situation within the Commonwealth states, and regulations will undergo trial by practice. The accumulated experience can be taken into consideration during the work on the permanent documents.

Until—and also after—the regulations are ratified (the regulations are, after all, provisional) we hope that KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers will voice their opinion regarding the content of these regulations. We ask them to send their suggestions for the commission to their command and to the Main Administration for Ground Forces Combat Training (Moscow, K-160).

We do not rule out the possibility of certain sovereign states being able to use the provisional general military regulations, when they are published, as a base for formulating their own normative-legal documents. The commission is willing to provide practical aid here.

What do the new draft general military regulations constitute? Articles by the main persons involved in compiling the documents that KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is starting to publish today may partially help answer questions.

Media

TASS Carries Press Review for 17 Mar

LD1703055192 Moscow TASS in English 0539 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 17 ITAR-TASS—Today's newspapers report that Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Monday [16 March] signed a decree to form the Russian Defence Ministry. The president himself will temporarily fulfil the responsibilities of the defence minister.

Andrey Kokoshin, deputy director of the U.S. and Canada Institute, comments on the creation of the Russian Defence Ministry in the Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

The press reports about the aggravation of the situation in the Dnestr region, Moldova, where special regulations were enforced on March 16. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out attempts to involve the Army in the sharpening conflict.

The independent NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA paper describes the situation in the Dnestr region as "the civil war." In its view, "steep moves on the part of the Moldovan Government", which presented an ultimatum to the authorities of the Dnestr region that all their armed groups should surrender weapons, can be expected this evening.

The sixth congress of people's deputies of the former Soviet Union, which is scheduled to be held today, and events associated with these plans, are widely commented in the press. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA emphasises the congress will take place, although it will not be a representative forum.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA informs its readers about a press conference given by participants in the congress on Monday. Speakers emphasised that people's deputies of the former Soviet Union assembled to "realise the will of the people."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries a letter by former first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Alfred Rubiks, which was sent by him to the participants in the forthcoming congress from the Riga prison. In his letter, Rubiks welcomes the convocation of the congress and asks to consider him as a participant in today's forum.

Russian Constitutional Court member Gadis Gadzhiyev comments in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on the decision by the Russian Constitutional Court which expressed its attitude to the forthcoming referendum on sovereignty in the Republic of Tatarstan.

In KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy called for the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the Commonwealth Armed Forces from Transcaucasia where the Azeri-Armenian conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh keeps escalating.

TASS Carries Press Review for 16 Mar

LD1603202592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0735 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 16 March (TASS)—In view of the suspension of the publication of PRAVDA due to financial difficulties, only ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, the newspaper of the Russian parliament, and the KOMMERSANT weekly of the FAKT information service appeared on sale on Monday [16 March].

"In the name of the Russian Soviet Federative Republic" is the headline under which ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA carries the Russian Federation's constitutional court ruling concerning the verification of validity from the constitution point of view of the Republic of Tatarstan's declaration of state sovereignty dated August 30, 1990, and laws "on amendments and addenda to the Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan", "on a referendum in the Republic of Tatarstan", the Tatarstan

Parliament's resolution "on the holding of a referendum in Tatarstan on the status of the Republic of Tatarstan as an independent state".

The court ruling recognizes the declaration provisions limiting the operation of Russian Federation laws on the territory of Tatarstan as not corresponding to the Constitution of the Russian Federation. "The Presidium of the Tatarstan Parliament promptly reacted to the ruling of the constitutional court of the Russian Federation about a referendum in Tatarstan," the newspaper writes in this connection, reporting a decision to hold an extraordinary session of the Tatarstan Parliament on March 16. "The Presidium suggested its own wording of the question brought up for the referendum: 'Do you agree that Tatarstan is a sovereign state?'".

"The democrats are prepared to agree with this wording, adding to it the words 'as part of the Russian Federation'," ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA notes.

In the "Official Section" feature, the newspaper publishes the texts of Russian Federation laws "on making changes and additions to the Russian Supreme Soviet's standing orders", "on making changes to the Russian law", "on the foundations of the budget system and the budgetary process in the Russian Federation", Russian presidential decrees "on a commission under the government of the Russian Federation for the use of airspace and for managing air traffic," "on types of output (work, services) and production waste, the free sale of which is prohibited," and resolutions of the government and Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

On Eduard Shevardnadze's arrival in Tbilisi Georgian politicians have started competing in their loyalty to the new informal leader, KOMMERSANT believes. The weekly stresses the resolve of the well known political leader to "establish order" in Georgia (he was USSR foreign minister for a number of years, then in autumn 1991 USSR minister of external relations) [ITAR-TASS note].

Assessing the "Shevardnadze bloc's" chances of victory in parliamentary elections as "preferable," the weekly notes at the same time: "But the possibility is not excluded of a split in the victors' camp: The return of the old nomenklatura expected by observers will hardly be to the taste of the new democratic elite".

The ruble is rising in value thanks to the coupon, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA states. According to information cited, the unofficial rate of the ruble in Ukraine has now risen considerably in relation to the coupon. "Having withdrawn into its shell Ukraine has come up against a problem that is unusual for it: feeding its own people. The myth has been shattered that everyone has been squeezing the juices out of the republic in the recent past. Currently of assistance is the exchange of goods that has been agreed at CIS intergovernmental levels. Until the new currency becomes convertible, if only against the ruble, it is hardly likely that in the near future Uzbekistan will start selling cotton and Russia will start selling oil, gas, and timber for coupons," the newspaper believes.

International Affairs

Kozyrev To Meet Secretary Baker in Helsinki

OW1603171592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1554 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev will meet with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Helsinki March 24 at a meeting of foreign ministers from countries preparing for the CSCE.

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs told "INTERFAX" that the heads of the foreign political departments of the Russian and American governments will use this opportunity to hold talks on developing a new policy on the reduction of strategic weapons. The new document will be signed in mid-June when Russian President Boris Yeltsin will meet with President George Bush in Washington.

Minister Kozyrev Interviewed on PRC Visit

LD1603152792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Videotaped interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by correspondent V. Kulikov on his arrival in Beijing on 16 March—recorded; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Kulikov] The Russian leadership appears to be taking a serious look at the East. Andrey Kozyrev has begun his visit to the Beijing region. Petr Aven, Russian minister for foreign economic relations, was here recently. A whole series of further visits are planned at various levels. The Russian foreign minister's team includes not only experts and diplomats but also heads of krays and oblasts of the Russian Federation, businessmen and entrepreneurs.

[Kulikov] This is your first visit to China as a Russian minister. What expectations do you have of it?

[Kozyrev] I have great great expectations. Above all, I am confident that our relations are already good-neighborly and will continue to develop. We have a tremendously long border, not only in the Far East but also in the west of our country. These ties, this gravitation toward China, are of long standing. A start has to be made and we are starting. We will work towards an exchange of visits at summit level in due course.

[Kulikov] Businesslike talks have begun at a government residence. Taking part are Kozyrev and his Chinese opposite number PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. They are discussing a number of questions affecting both bilateral and international relations, in particular the Near East situation, Korea and Taiwan. I remind you that Russia's position on the Taiwan question is unambiguous. Taiwan is an inalienable part of the PRC. The ministers exchanged ratification documents for the agreement on the Eastern sector of the Soviet-Chinese border. This is a very significant event and yet another important step toward the establishment of trust and good-neighborliness on the border.

'High Hopes' for Relations

LD1603231192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Videotaped report by correspondent V. Kulikov in Beijing; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Dorenko] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is now in Beijing. He has proposed the complete elimination of Russia's and China's tactical nuclear weapons in the frontier areas.

[Correspondent V.Kulikov] In the talks which have begun in the government residence between Kozyrev and his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen, a number of questions are being discussed concerning both bilateral and international relations, in particular the situation in the Near East, the Republic of Korea, and Taiwan, recalling, incidentally, that Russia's position on the question of Taiwan is unambiguous: Taiwan is an inseparable part of the People's Republic of China. There is much significance in the ministers' exchange of ratification documents on the agreement on the Soviet-Chinese border in its eastern part.

[Begin Kozyrev recording] Hopes are high, but the most important thing is the confidence that we have already established good-neighborly relations and they will continue to develop. [end recording]

[Dorenko] Western mass news media think Kozyrev is coming to an agreement on a visit by the Russian president to Beijing in September in order to fit in with Yeltsin's visit to Japan. Apart from insignificant differences on the demarcation of the borders and reduction of the level of military confrontation, the Chinese will tackle the question of purchasing Su-27 fighters from Russia and expansion of manpower export. Last year the work of 22,000 Chinese workers in Russia gave the Chinese economy $1 billion, according to the EFE news agency.

Yeltsin's Invitation Confirmed

LD1703052892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0450 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Kashirov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Beijing, 17 Mar (TASS)—A meeting took place in the governmental residence today between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is here on an official visit, and PRC State Council Premier Li Peng. During the conversation the sides examined questions of bilateral relations and a number of topical international

problems and exchanged opinions on the present situation in their countries. At the end of the meeting, the Russian minister, replying to questions from journalists, stated that the conversation with the head of the Chinese Government had passed "under the sign of those contacts with had taken place between the leaders of the two countries, and first of all, of the brief but rich in content meeting between President Boris Yeltsin and Premier Li Peng in New York at the beginning of the year." This meeting, in the words of Andrey Kozyrev, "set the atmosphere for the neighborly, equal, and normal relations between the two great powers."

Noting that today's meeting in Beijing passed namely in such an atmosphere, Andrey Kozyrev reported that during the conversation the invitation to the Russian president to pay an official visit to the PRC was confirmed.

Kozyrev Ends Visit

LD1703112192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1044 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vladimir Kashirov and Georgiy Shmelov]

[Text] Beijing, 17 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, has left Beijing for Seoul by air at the end of a two-day official visit. During his stay in China, the Russian minister had a meeting with Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, and held talks with his Chinese colleague Qian Qichen. The sides discussed a wide circle of issues relating to Sino-Russian relations and a series of topical international problems. They exchanged opinions on the situation in their countries. At a meeting with the head of the Chinese Government, confirmation was given of the invitation to Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin to make an official visit to the PRC.

The heads of the foreign policy departments of the two countries signed a protocol on exchange of instruments of ratification to an agreement on the Eastern section of the PRC-Russia border.

Khasbulatov Meets With PRC Ambassador

OW1603172692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1554 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov said that the Supreme Soviet takes a positive stand on Russian-Chinese relations. Meeting Monday [16 March] with the Chinese Ambassador to Russia Wang Jinqin, Khasbulatov said that the neighboring peoples have always had good relations.

The Chinese Ambassador said that the "good tendency" toward improving relations between the two nations is facilitated by the fact that "we don't have any serious problems".

Stance on DPRK Arms Shipment Questioned

PM1603151592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Vladimir Skosyrev: "North Koreans Outmaneuver A U.S. Admiral"]

[Excerpts] It looks like the captain of the North Korean ship Day Hung Ho has outwitted the U.S. admiral commanding the armada of 22 ships patrolling the Persian Gulf. Either the Americans lost sight of the ship or it followed the line of the coast, inside Iranian territorial waters, but the fact remains: The Day Hung Ho moored in the Iranian port of Bandar 'Abbas on 10 March. [passage omitted]

The international community has grounds for concern over shipments of North Korean weapons. Observers believe that Iran and Syria are going in for increasingly close coordination of their strategy vis-a-vis Israel. The coordination is based on two factors—first, Damascus wants to get access to missiles through Iran and thereby strengthen its defenses in case of a war with Israel. In response the Syrians have to enable Iran to use a Hizballah detachment attacking Israel to transport firearms and ammunition to Lebanon.

So the worst-case scenario is that North Korean Scuds could spark off a new military conflict in the Near East. Particularly as no effective mechanism exists to restrict deliveries of weapons to the region. One wonders what the United Nations can do, and, in particular, what Russia, as a permanent member of the Security Council, can do here. After all, there is no escaping the fact that the Scuds are missiles that were created by our designers.

How did the DPRK come by them? Sources at the Russian Foreign Ministry said that the missiles were supplied to the then ally back in the seventies. The North Koreans organized production of them, and subsequently modernized them, considerably extending their range.

Does arms production cooperation continue between Pyongyang and Moscow? I was told categorically that there is no longer any cooperation in that sphere.

Nonetheless questions remain. Since it had nothing to do with the incident involving the North Korean Scuds, Russia apparently does not intend to play any part in resolving it. At any rate, I was told at the Russian Foreign Ministry Information Administration that they had no comment to make on recent events in the Persian Gulf. Is Moscow not adopting an overly passive stance?

Japan Granted Right To Catch Russian Salmon

LD1703022792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1130 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo, 16 Mar (TASS)—In 1992, Japan will catch 2,819 tonnes of Russian salmon within its 200-mile

economic zone. An agreement on this has been reached as a result of the eighth session of the Russo-Japanese mixed commission for cooperation in the sphere of the fishing industry which ended in Tokyo today.

In the past two weeks of talks, the sides agreed that the volume of salmon caught by Japanese fishermen in the northwestern part of the Pacific Ocean and in the northeastern areas of the Sea of Japan will be maintained at last year's level. At the same time Japan will pay Russia 444 million yen as all the salmon which are there originate in Russian rivers.

In accordance with the international agreement on the protection of marine resources, the delegations of the two countries also confirmed that they will cease salmon fishing outside the limits of their economic zones. In this connection, the Japanese side has requested its quota for salmon fishing in the 200-mile economic zone of Russia, which in 1991 amounted to 8,000 tonnes, be increased.

Mongolian Premier Discusses Bilateral Ties

PM1603154192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report on interview with Mongolian Prime Minister Dashiyn Byambasuren by Maksim Gan; place, date not given: "Mongolia Does Not Intend To Be a Poor Relation, According to Prime Minister Byambasuren"]

[Text] The disintegration of the USSR and CEMA brought Mongolia's economy to the brink of disaster. The end of financial infusion from outside and the transition to world prices in external trade disrupted ties which had taken decades to establish. The country is threatened by energy crisis, many goods are distributed against coupons. CEMA countries formerly accounted for up to 95 percent of Mongolia's exports. The volume of trade was reduced severalfold when reciprocal settlements switched to freely convertible currency.

An End to the Era of Ideology

Mongolia now badly needs support and assistance from the world community. But Mongolia no longer intends to accept the status of "poor relation." "We do not want to live like before, in a state of dependence," Mongolia's Prime Minister Dashiyn Byambasuren said in a conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent. "Mongolia advocates only mutually advantageous cooperation."

Some two years ago the country took the path of developing market relations and democratic reforms. Since the fall of 1990, 49-year old Candidate of Economic Sciences Dashiyn Byambasuren has been head of the first multiparty Cabinet of Ministers in Mongolia's history. He is member of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], the country's largest and most influential party. The prime minister came fourth in a popularity poll conducted by a Mongolian newspaper, ranking after a poetess, an actor, and a former driver and fitter who is now the president's astrologer.

In the premier's words, the socioeconomic and political changes in Mongolia are profound. They mean not only a change of social orientation but also a change in Mongolia's relations with other countries.

Foreign policy was highly ideologized in the past. Mongolia is now acquiring its own presence in the international arena and is pursuing an independent foreign policy. "Most of the world did not exist as far as we were concerned. Now we are striving for good relations with all countries. But this does not mean a substitution of friends. We are primarily aiming for openness in relations with our neighbors—China and Russia," Byambasuren said.

Proceeding from these principles, the head of the Cabinet of Ministers made a tour of West European countries, ending it a few days ago with meetings with the Russian leadership in Moscow. In his own words, the talks on various aspects of mutual relations proceeded very successfully. "I think that even this year we will see the beginning of a major influx of foreign capital in Mongolia," he said. An agreement on economic cooperation will soon be signed with the EC. Mongolia also hopes to become the EC's partner in the investment activity sphere.

Special hopes are pinned on Germany, which inherited from the former GDR sundry cultural and economic ties with Mongolia. "In essence, Germany is our main partner in West Europe. Even though we also inherited our own debts from the former ties," the premier noted. There are promising relations with France, which was the first European country to post its ambassador to Mongolia 738 years ago.

"As for the visit to Russia, it is very important to note the special feature of our relations—the trust between peoples. This is a priceless capital accumulated over the centuries," Byambasuren said. As the premier noted, relations between the two countries are not at their best at present. Nonetheless he believes that Russia and Mongolia should "march shoulder to shoulder and jointly survive this difficult time."

Mongolia advocates the conclusion of a general treaty on friendship and cooperation. So far such a treaty does not exist. The premier also believes that it is necessary to reach agreement on the protection of investments and the lifting of all customs barriers.

"Russia's presence in Mongolia is not only in the interests of our two countries. This is a question of stability and prosperity in Asia's central region. Following the meetings with the Russian leadership, I got the impression that we share common views," Byambasuren said. Mongolia is not reluctant to play a linking role between Asia and the European countries.

But Mongolia is primarily an Asian country. Territorial proximity is highly significant. "We are in favor of developing all countries in our region and want to see cooperation extending to Russia's eastern part. The

Mongolian side also believes that the time will come when Asia will see a united Korea and the Korean people will live in a united country. This is the premise from which we proceed in our foreign policy," Byambasuren said. Japan is one of the first countries in the region to start establishing ties with Mongolia.

According to the premier, reforms in the country call for special support from the West, seeing that the changes are progressing apace and in conditions of national accord. The constitution, which was adopted in February after a two-month discussion, not only deleted the words "people's" and "republic" from the country's name but also provided a guarantee that the process of democratization will continue.

"I encountered tremendous trust and sound responses in the West. This is a very painful process, we are changing established traditions and the way of life. All this is accompanied by difficulties, but the Mongolian people realize the need for change. I think that the forthcoming Great Hural elections in June will consolidate democracy's positions further still. All political forces in the country advocate the continuation of reforms," the prime minister said. Under the new constitution, a unicameral Great Hural with 76 deputies will replace the present bicameral parliament. The post of president was introduced in line with the country's new fundamental law. Even though the president is elected by all people, the Cabinet of Ministers is the supreme executive organ. The head of state appoints the premier, he is commander in chief, he has the right to veto, and serves as a symbol of the Mongolian people's unity.

Buddhism Instead of Marxism

The new constitution occupies an important position in the reforms, and it has determined the general avenues of the country's development geared to universal human values. "Whereas Mongolia was a socialist country in the past, now we will build a humane, democratic, and civil society. Market relations and human rights will be protected by the constitution," Byambasuren said.

The leading role in society's transformations, in the premier's opinion, will be played by the MPRP which, in his own words, emerged more that 70 years ago as the party of national revival and now has about 90,000 members in a country with a population of 2 million. Later the MPRP switched to the positions of Marxism-Leninism. "Now that the whole of mankind has realized that the building of society according to Marxist theory has not been confirmed by history, the party found the strength to renounce this teaching and take a stance taking into account Mongolia's real interests in contemporary conditions," Byambasuren said.

At its recently concluded congress, the MPRP officially renounced the old ideology and declared that the party would adhere to the traditional Buddhist rejection of any extremism. It was also announced that the MPRP would become a national democratic party whose aim is to promote "the building of democratic society." The party renounced the socialist ideas. But the [socialist] teaching itself is considered an important component of human knowledge and culture.

70 Years in the Same Boat

Now there are four parties represented on the Cabinet of Ministers. "Ever since the beginning of the emergence of democratic forces, the party has been advocating national cohesion and accord. This principle was supported by the people. The MPRP won 85 percent of seats at the Great Hural elections. This would have been enough to form a one-party government. But the party decided to share power," the prime minister said. Nonetheless, things are not running altogether smoothly for the present government. The government is criticized from left and right alike.

Back in January, in response to accusations by several members of parliament that it was holding back the reforms, the Cabinet of Ministers submitted its collective resignation. But parliament did not accept its resignation and voted confidence in the government in a secret ballot. "Of course the government makes mistakes, we are marching along a new path, after all. When we submitted our resignation, we were proceeding from the premise that parliament ought to be given an opportunity to have its say and verify the stance of the Hural and the people toward the government. This is a normal process. The responsibility borne by the government makes it possible to take such a step," the prime minister said.

But there are fresh problems awaiting the prime minister on his return to Mongolia. While he was away, the Mongolian Democratic Party announced that it was recalling its representative from the office of vice premier.

"I had a talk with my deputy and he has no intention of leaving the government. A multiparty cabinet during the transition stage is inevitable. This is the only way to ensure political stability and the correct advance of democratization," Byambasuren said. "Generally speaking, our problems are similar. Before we parted, Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy said that we have spent 70 years in the same boat and we have to disembark together."

Pentagon Paper, Submarine Collision Examined

PM1603155992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 First Edition p 6

[Article under the rubric "Expert's View" by Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor Gennadiy Melkov: "Two Accidents on One Subject"]

[Text] Two events occurred in mid-February which aroused great interest from specialists and the world public: the "publication" of the U.S. Defense Department's scenarios in the event of possible regional combat situations which could involve the United States before the end of the century, and the collision between a U.S. nuclear submarine and a Russian nuclear submarine in

the Kola Gulf. They both have a direct bearing on the development of the Russo-U.S. dialogue, on the preservation and strengthening of the seedlings of friendly relations between our peoples, which were so long bogged down in enmity and stagnation, and even more on the deepening and development of democratic processes and transformations in Russia.

The newspapers are full of arguments about a secret Pentagon plan whose contents have been "leaked" to the press. It includes a scenario for a Russian attack on Lithuania on the pretext of protecting the Russians there and the participation of U.S. and NATO armed forces in repelling such an attack. "Intensive warfare" would last 21 days with a favorable outcome for the West without the use of nuclear weapons.

What is this? "Cold war" redux? Intrigues by the U.S. "hawks"? Opposition to disarmament by the U.S. military-industrial complex and an attempt to justify and maintain massive levels of military spending? A real threat to the security of Russia, which has embarked on democratic transformations, arms reduction, and the reform of its armed forces? Or, perhaps, no such scenario exists at all?

Well, the scenario may exist. Moreover, there is a real basis to it which the United States and NATO cannot ignore. I do not consider the existence of such a plan to be a throwback to the "cold war," an intrigue by "U.S. imperialism," or a direct threat to Russia, its peoples, and its democratic transformations. The very existence of the scenario and its "leak" are just an unambiguous and serious warning to the supporters of the CPSU, jingoists, and brownshirt Reds in Russia in the event of their trying once again to assert the CPSU's bloody political authority in the former totalitarian empire.

The second event is causing far more concern. It is not at all a question of somebody trying to infringe the freedom of shipping or naval navigation beyond coastal states' territorial waters. Indeed, this freedom exists and is legally enshrined in international conventions known worldwide. For decades U.S. submarines have "browsed" at the entrance to the Kola Gulf (as Soviet submarines have done in corresponding areas in the NATO countries). But why break into the house? And particularly now?

Every Russian submarine commander (and American commander, too) has charts showing the baseline from which the territorial waters of the states where they are sailing are calculated. These charts—including charts of Russia and the United States—have been published in "Instructions to Mariners" and other general-access documents. There is an order forbidding Russian boats from approaching closer than X miles to the outer limit of territorial waters (the state border at sea). I have not given the exact figure on purpose, in order to prevent the promulgation of "secret information." But this figure is many times in excess of any possible mistake that might be made by a submerged submarine when determining its exact location.

Who stands to gain from this violation of the Russian state border now that, finally, "Russia and the United States do not consider each other to be potential enemies"?

Unfortunately, it needs to be directly stated that the only winners have been the supporters of the CPSU, the jingoists, and the Russian brownshirt Reds, who have received the major boost they so badly needed in the fight against democracy in Russia and against armed forces cuts and disarmament.

This regrettable incident—which passed off, fortunately, without any casualties or losses—could have had really terrible, catastrophic consequences if the conditions of the collision had been less favorable. After all, three nuclear reactors were operating on the two submarines. There is no need to mention what would have happened if the submarines had collided at right angles with one of their hulls being holed (as was the case with the Admiral Nakhimov off Novorossiysk). There was an equal, 50-50, chance of this happening. Although the crew of the Komsomolets managed to shut down their nuclear reactor, there was absolutely no certainty that this would have happened this time.

It can now be said with certainty that the public in all countries (particularly Russia, the United States, and the Scandinavian states) need to raise and resolve the question of putting a stop to this highly dangerous presence of submarines near the ports and military bases of other states, when there is the highest likelihood of collision and accidents with dangerous consequences.

There is a purely Russian aspect to this incident as well. Is it not time for Russian deputies to seriously start asking at last just who holds the "keys" to Russia's maritime borders? A U.S. Rust [reference to German pilot of light aircraft who landed in Red Square having evades detection by air defenses], perhaps? Why is the effectiveness of Russia's maritime border defenses virtually zero, and do such defenses actually exist, since foreign submarines camp day and night at the very gates of the Red Banner Northern Fleet's main military base?

Foreign Ministry Expert on Gulf Conflict

OW1703003492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1410 GMT 16 Mar 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A new military conflict in the Persian Gulf area "would not be in Russia's interests," Anatoliy Filev, a leading expert on the Middle East and North Africa at Russia's Foreign Ministry, told DP's ["Diplomatic Panorama"] correspondent. The high-ranking diplomat doesn't believe that the results of last week's session held

by the UN Security Council to review Iraq's compliance with the world community's resolutions are totally disappointing.

As A. Filev told DP's correspondent, "The session wasn't as fruitful as it could have been, but there are good prospects nevertheless." The diplomat proceeds from the assumption that talks between Baghdad and the UN Secretariat will be continued on the level of experts, and the two sides may come to an agreement.

"Patience and endurance are needed to overcome the differences by diplomatic means," said A. Filev. "Considering the disasters the use of arms entails, such issues can be raised only as a last resort. We never miss an opportunity to convince Iraq of the need to comply with the UN Security Council's resolutions in full," the diplomat said. This relates to the elimination of weapons of mass destruction and to Baghdad's observance of human rights, particularly the rights of the Kurds and Shiites. The two sides maintain continuous contacts through their embassies in Moscow and in Baghdad and through their missions at the UN.

As for economic sanctions imposed against Iraq, "our attitude to them is based on the universal approach of the world community to this problem," said A. Filev. Russia stands for a gradual easing of sanctions. It proceeds from considerations of humaneness and its own economic interest.

V. Samoylov Interviewed on German Visit

PM1303143192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 92 pp 1,3

[Interview with Lieutenant General V. Samoylov by Vladimir Potapov; date and place not given: "'It is Time to Sober Up,' a Defender of the 'White House' Believes"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] A military delegation from the Russian Federation has visited Germany for the first time at official level. The impetuous growth in this European power's influence on world processes cannot be overestimated today. Hence the natural interest in the way the FRG is greeting our post-perestroyka period. The Germans have been both our friends and our enemies. What does the future promise for our mutual relations? PRAVDA asked Lieutenant General V. Samoylov to share his impressions from the trip. He occupies a responsible post in the service of the Russian Federation State Counselor for Defense; he is deputy chief of the Main Directorate for CIS Joint Armed Forces Personnel.

[Samoylov] We were greeted warmly in Germany in the full sense of the word. On familiarizing ourselves with the organization of the Bundeswehr and the activity of the Bundestag, we found out a great deal that was new and interesting. We found out for ourselves that many of the ideas of the proponents of military reform have German origins. There is nothing bad in this. It is no sin to take the best from world experience. We have seen with our own eyes to what extent the powerful and well-thought out legislative system ensures security and military organizational development in the FRG. Although I must admit that I was struck by the fact that the professional German Army is not as professional as we thought. I do not mean its knowledge, skill, or experience; I am talking about its military structure and the servicemen's social position. Only a small part—less than half of the officers—are professional soldiers. The rest serve on contract for 10-12 years. After that they are retrained for civilian professions. Only 15 percent of the soldiers are professionals, around 60 percent serve on contract, and the rest are the same kind of recruits as in our country, and alternative service also exists. On leaving the Bundeswehr, only a small proportion of people receive pensions from the military department. The majority simply retrain, obtain a profession, and start a new life, as it were. For us all this is very important since we are on the brink of great reductions.

In the staff of the NATO Armies Northern Group Command, which is located on the territory of the FRG, we were told with a smile that during command and staff exercises, NATO no longer uses eastern territories in its military plans as the hypothetical object of military operations. Last time, they "played" with Italian maps. It is gratifying that it is becoming increasingly difficult both for NATO and for us to return to a situation of hostility.

[Potapov] But after all, other facts are also known: In its secret research, the Pentagon has for the first time included Lithuania in the sphere of "the United States' vital interests" until the end of the century, and the plans do not extend beyond that for the moment, and Russia is being seen as "a potential serious threat." How can we square this?

[Samoylov] I think that is a prudent reaction. The peoples of the former USSR are at a turning point in their history. That phase is not over yet. If the present crisis leads to repressions, anarchy, or civil war, then the former USSR and the world in general will be faced with increased danger. If, however, we manage to continue proceeding along the path of democratic development, the prospects for the future may be more reassuring. We possess good initial contacts for the construction of a collective security system based on cooperation, including with the United States.

[Potapov] Let us return to Germany—Germany as part of NATO. What other observations might you make?

[Samoylov] Personally, I was struck by the calm way the population reacts to men in uniform. After all, military patrols there keep their weapons cocked ready to shoot, but no one sees this as a violation of freedom or will. In our country guards only have weapons "slung over their shoulder." However, "armed men" are seen as a real threat here for some reason.

[Potapov] Is this position not due to the adventurist decisions of politicians to use the army and to the fact that it is slandered in the mass media and from the lofty rostrums?

[Samoylov] Unfortunately, yes. Although they are stating that the army should be separate from politics, the leaders of all the different movements are in fact dragging the army into politics by force. Not a rally or demonstration goes by without an officer being seen with a megaphone or a banner. This contradicts the principles of military service in a civilized country. In our country, there is a clear shortage of political sophistication, the actual organization of society leaves much to be desired, there are no laws regulating defense and security, or military duties in service, or laws determining the status of servicemen. Although objectivity in many elements of development is characteristic of both us and them. Thus, when Manfred Woerner's adjutant became chief of the Hamburg military academy while the former was minister of defense, the public saw this as a natural development and a victory for Woerner's policy and team. In our country that would have been seen as horrible favoritism.

[Potapov] But maybe in this case the difference in reaction is not due to the Germans' higher level of political sophistication, but to the fact that our servicemen often do not know the reason for ranks and posts being handed out. Or maybe sometimes they know exactly why!

[Samoylov] That is quite possible. Although all our appointments in the recent period have been greeted positively and the military high command is being rejuvenated. Military specialists are also greeting the formations of the leaders' teams with understanding. The main thing is that there is no coordination with the CPSU Central Committee; the basic principle is professionalism, competence, and businesslike qualities.

[Potapov] I hope to God it is like that. Have you come back with positive impressions alone, or some others too?

[Samoylov] Yes, others too. The most negative impression I gained was from NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner's address to the Hamburg military academy. It began with the words that "We are now witnessing a historical time when the influence of the Yalta conference has come to an end. The world is changing, and reason is prevailing instead of ambition." That is, we are witnesses of a theoretical review of the peaceful intentions of the major politicians of the time—Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. This came as a surprise to me. I was astonished by the stance of victor presented by Manfred Woerner, champion of the new policy, former minister of defense of the FRG, and currently NATO secretary general. Clear elements of bossism [vozhdizm] could be perceived. It makes you think.

[Potapov] What does it make you think?

[Samoylov] Is their analysis of the current situation so peaceloving? Were we genuinely a real threat to the civilized world and European security? After all, now is the time to sober up. Yes, we have tasted freedom and got drunk on it, and this made us feel happy and delighted. As an active defender of the "White House," who was there not 19 or 20 August, but much earlier, I myself experienced all the unpleasantness of the uncertainty of the so-called democrat in an authoritarian society. There was a lot at stake: official career, family—everything had to be viewed and assessed. But there was freedom, there was reason, there was logic, and they prevailed. But are we making a correct assessment of the role and historical place of Russian statehood in every period: the post-revolutionary period; World War II; the export of socialism which took place in Europe in any case; the collapse of the unified socialist system; and the reorientation from confrontation to wholesale fraternization with our former enemies in the West? The trip and Manfred Woerner's address have made me think a great deal about many things. At the moment I am not hurrying to draw any conclusions. I think that Russia should be strong, given its unique historical role; the advanced post of Europe in the East and the advanced post of Eastern civilization on the old continent. I believe that balance, from the point of view of security, is not a concept that involves only one measure; it is a complex but entirely predictable, measurable, and feasible concept.

Adviser Criticizes Ukrainian Stance on Debt

PM1603152192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 92 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Yuriy Gromushkin, economic adviser to the Russian minister of foreign economic relations, by Vladimir Kuznetsov under the "Finances" rubric; date, place not given: "On the Republics' Debt and the Union's Debts"—first two paragraphs are ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] So far not a single republic of the former Union, with the exception of Russia, has paid a cent toward paying off the foreign debts. The already tense situation has now been still further exacerbated because of Ukraine's destructive stance. As the latest consultations within the framework of the "Club of Paris" and the G-7 [Group of Seven] countries have shown, this circumstance is blocking the conclusion of new agreements on debts and impeding the granting of IMF aid to all members of the CIS.

The question of the delay in payments with regard to the foreign debt is one of the first items on the agenda of the upcoming meeting of the CIS countries' heads of government, to be held 13 March. Yuriy Gromushkin, economic adviser to the Russian minister of foreign economic relations, comments on the present state of affairs with regard to this problem:

[Gromushkin] The former union republics are continuing to ignore the pledges which they made and which are enshrined in two of last year's basic documents—the Treaty on Legal Succession with Regard to the USSR's

Foreign State Debt and Assets of 4 December and the Memorandum on Solidary Liability of 28 October. Talks were held on the basis of them in January and February with our private and state creditors. During the same period we held eight conferences of the Interstate Council, but no one from Ukraine participated in them even once. On 24 February we heard from its representative—naturally, not a plenipotentiary one—only more rebukes, already known from Prime Minister Fokin's statements, that Russia has placed the Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity] under its jurisdiction and frozen the currency accounts belonging to Ukraine and other republics.

[Kuznetsov] If this decision was adopted by Russia unilaterally, then there would be reason to take offense, would there not?

[Gromushkin] It was adopted in the Interstate Council. Under the existing accords 75 percent of the votes is sufficient for this. I repeat, however, that Ukraine's plenipotentiary representatives did not attend once, and its government virtually ignored the Interstate Council's activity. Meanwhile, a critical currency and financial situation had taken shape in the country and in the CIS as a whole, which should have been resolved without delay. The Vneshekonombank's status as an agent to observe the servicing of the foreign debt and the utilization of assets was confirmed at the last conference of the Interstate Council. It was also agreed that Russia's decision to place the bank under its jurisdiction in that extraordinary situation had been correct. This has made it possible, above all, to continue its actual functioning, including making payments relating to the debt.

[Kuznetsov] Which part of the payments relating to the debt falls to Russia, Ukraine, and the other republics, and what about the share-out of assets?

[Gromushkin] We have to meet 61.34 percent, Ukraine 16.37 percent, Belarus 4.13 percent, and Kazakhstan approximately 4 percent of the debt. The ratios are the same for each of them in the share-out of assets. But this is the correlation when all 15 republics of the former Union are taken into account.

[Kuznetsov] How do the other republics explain their reluctance to repay debts?

[Gromushkin] They speak of a lack of funds. Yet it is known that currency transactions have been implemented directly by the republics for some time now. They have placed branches of the Vneshekonombank and the State Bank of the former USSR under their jurisdiction and are now themselves forming their own currency funds. Ukraine, incidentally, did this long before the decision of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium. Of course, everything is still at the development stage there. I personally do not believe that Kazakhstan or Ukraine do not have any funds at all to repay at least part of the debt within the framework of their shares.

[Kuznetsov] What consequences could all this have for Russia?

[Gromushkin] We have already encountered a sharp worsening of the currency and financial situation. Some 90 percent of the payments relating to the USSR's debts have so far been made only with funds from the Russian Federation. They have been made out of the currency fund which is being formed—that is, the 40 percent of the compulsory sales of currency revenue plus the frozen accounts of legal entities and persons, as a result of which an internal currency debt has been formed in excess of several billion dollars.

[Kuznetsov] The chief argument which Ukraine advances against the Vneshekonombank is that it has frozen the accounts of Ukrainian enterprises and even individuals.

[Gromushkin] Over the past two months we have paid Western creditors a total of $272 million. Of this, direct payments out of the Russian currency fund totaled $118 million, and from the Vneshekonombank $154 million, 15-20 percent of which, at most, is accounted for by non-Russian legal persons. Their accounts at the Vneshekonombank date right back to the times of centralized import and export operations and are connected with contracts concluded earlier—before the CIS came into being—or with centralized appropriations from the currency fund of the former USSR. It is technically extremely difficult to promptly the amount of Ukrainian, for instance, or other assets. It will take time and the assistance of all the republics of the former USSR to draw up a broken-down balance. The Vneshekonombank has repeatedly provided explanations in this regard which, by the way, can even be understood by a non-banker.

[Kuznetsov] Only Russia is paying for everything, defending the debt honor of the rest.

[Gromushkin] We cannot pay the foreign debt in full even within the framework of our own Russian share. It is essentially a crisis situation, and it is connected, above all, with the fact that the repayments will peak precisely this year. The share of short-term payments is excessively large. Whereas in 1992 payments relating to all kinds of foreign financial obligations of the former Union are to total, according to preliminary assessments, more than $29 billion (this does not take account of the deferments already submitted to the Interstate Council on the part of Western creditors), in 1977 they totaled just approximately $4 billion.

In such an extraordinary situation the stand of individual republics is incomprehensible. Because of some unilateral actions that they are taking and maybe even simply because of a reluctance to fulfill their commitments, the dialogue that has just been set up with such difficulty with private and official creditors is being undermined.

[Kuznetsov] Although common sense and elementary logic suggest that someone who does not pay his debts should not hope for his own share of the assets either?

[Gromushkin] I believe that anyone who does not wish to end up out of harmony with common sense will not dispute this logic.

Union President on Foreign Economic Trade

LD1703230592 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow, March 16 [dateline as received]—Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, doubted that it is possible to transfer to trade with former socialist countries in hard currency at average world prices. Addressing a news conference at the signing of an agreement on cooperation with Czechia [as received] and Slovakia, he said that in order to conduct such trade with former socialist countries, it is necessary to have sufficient reserves of hard currency and goods should achieve at least the average world technological standards.

Volskiy said there must be a period of transition during which clearing and barter operations and some conditional settlements should be permitted.

The Russian Government should "untie the hands" of chiefs of enterprises and stop interfering in the affairs of plants. "They will then find the ways of settling accounts with foreign partners and will also find the means", Volskiy said.

Volskiy said remaining duties are unreasonable and that levying a tax on foreign investments is "absurd". "We shall be opposing this", he said.

He mentioned the convertion of defence industry production facilities to civilian uses as an important area of Russia's foreign economic cooperation. He said this is necessary at a time when a catastrophic situation is shaping in defence industry which will lead without fail to a fiasco of entire industry.

Volskiy cited the figures of the decrease of orders for industrial products. This indicates that 1.5 million people out of the seven million people employed in the war industry may become jobless by the end of the year.

Launching reforms, the government has not decided on top priorities and has not determined a policy of the stimulation of enterprises. Without this stimulation "all macroeconomy and macrostabilisation will remain on paper", Volskiy said.

Foreign Aid Effort, Future Prospects Eyed

PM1603150992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Zhitnikov, deputy chairman of the Commission for Humanitarian and Technical Aid under the Russian Government: "Humanitarian Aid: 170,000 Tonnes Worth 10 billion Rubles"]

[Text] The Commission for Humanitarian and Technical Aid under the Russian Government has summarized the results of its work in the first two months of the year, which are record ones in terms of the quantity of goods and products sent free of charge from foreign countries.

Despite numerous items in the press, disputes are continuing about whether or not we need humanitarian aid from the West, how and by whom it should be distributed, and why there is not enough for all the people in need. Maybe the generalized statistics for the latest months will throw some light on these questions.

Thus, in January-February Russia received 112,000 tonnes of humanitarian freight—food products, medical supplies and equipment, and clothes. A total of 170,000 tonnes is expected in the first quarter. According to expert assessment, these gifts from abroad are worth no mean sum—around 10 billion rubles [R] at state trade prices. But if you bear in mind that the humanitarian aid is being sent to a limited section of the population (invalids, lone aged people, low-income families), then its value increases severalfold. Because the still impoverished organs for the population's social welfare, which have traditionally been done out of their fair share of budget appropriations, do not have and have never had R10 billion to spare.

For example, in Moscow alone 305,000 people—lone pensioners, single mothers, children from families which have lost a breadwinner, and families with invalid children up to 16 years old—will receive meat benefits of R150 through the sale in state trade of EEC meat and butter at fixed prices and the entering of the money earned into a special account. Apart from this, 618,000 schoolchildren in grades five through 11 will get a 45-ruble additional payment for school meals. The St. Petersburg authorities are also planning similar measures of social support for the needy.

It is now well known that foreign states' humanitarian aid will not be limited to the past winter's intensive burst, but will be continued throughout the year. So, apart from major deliveries from EC countries and the United States, a sizable consignment of foodstuffs, clothes, and medical supplies is expected in April-May. Germany has even agreed to donate several thousand trucks. Consultations are currently being held with the Japanese Red Cross for the delivery of foodstuffs and medical supplies to Far East regions. Talks are also going on with a number of other governmental and nongovernmental organizations from Germany (including the

Red Cross), India, Thailand, Poland, Turkey, the United States, and Canada, which want to help the Russians at a difficult time of reform.

It is worth noting the Bulgarian firm "Farmakhim," which has agreed to send medicines and medical equipment worth $1,114,000 for an endocrinology center. The famous musician Rostropovich, through the foundation bearing his name, intends to build a hospital in Moscow, while the Austrian "OSVAG" shipyard intends to build a 100-place floating hospital costing 120 million Austrian schillings... And we have a considerable number of such offers.

In time, I think, the proportion of purely technical free aid given from abroad will also increase. It is planned to discuss technical aid questions in more detail at the Lisbon conference in May.

For its part our commission under the Russian Government has taken a number of measures enabling the receipt and coordination of humanitarian aid to be speeded up and simplified—from quicker customs inspections at airports and ports to a request to local administration chiefs to publish full information in newspapers about where a freight consignment of one kind or another has been sent.

Federation Affairs

'Text' of Decree on Defense Ministry Released

LD1603182592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1743 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 16 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—President B.N. Yeltsin today signed a decree "On the Ministry of Defense and Armed Forces of the Russian Federation." The text is as follows:

"In implementing my sovereign right to ensure security, with the purpose of perfecting the system of collective security and of implementing strict control over nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction, in the interests of the state lawful regulation of military construction and the protection of the socioeconomic rights of military servicemen, and in accordance with the agreement of the Council of Heads of States of the Commonwealth of Independent States on the armed forces and border troops of 30 December 1991, I decree:

"1. In order to work out and immediately implement the military policy of the Russian Federation, to carry out cadre policy and the financial and material-technical provision of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, to form the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation. The Ministry of Defense is to prepare proposals for the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation.

"2. To establish that the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation are transferred to the strength of the General Purpose Joint Forces and are operationally subordinate to the Main Command of the Joint Armed Forces.

"3. The government of the Russian Federation is to set up state delegations to hold talks with states that were formerly the Union republics of the USSR on the status of troops that are situated on their territories and that do not form part of the armed forces of these states or of the CIS Strategic Forces.

"4. Prior to the adoption of the appropriate laws of the Russian Federation, the activity of the Russian Armed Forces is to be regulated by normative acts of the former USSR in those instances where they do not contradict Russian legislation.

"5. The financing and material and technical support for the activity of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation and the provision of social welfare and pensions for servicemen and members of their families is to be carried out from Russian budget allocations.

"6. The functions of the Ministry of Defense are to be temporarily carried out by the president of the Russian Federation.

"7. The state-legal directorate of the president of the Russian Federation is to draw up, within a month, a draft law "On the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation" to be submitted as a legislative initiative to the Supreme Soviet, and is to present for approval a statute on the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation.

"8. The decree comes into force upon signing."

Reaction To New Defense Ministry Reported

Volkogonov Faces Nuclear Question

MK1703101592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Mar 92 p 1

[Pavel Felgengauer report under the "Army" rubric: "Russian Defense Ministry Set Up. Boris Yeltsin Is the Minister"]

[Text] President Yeltsin signed a decree 16 March setting up a Russian Defense Ministry. The ministry that is being formed will be responsible for issues of "military policy, cadre policy, finances, and material and technical supply." By the same decree, the Russian Armed Forces are transferred to the operational command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command. Earlier USSR legislation (that does not contradict the Russian Constitution) will continue to operate until such time as Russian laws regulating the legal position of the Army are adopted. A Russian state delegation will be established to conduct talks on defense issues with other CIS countries. Boris Yeltsin himself will be the acting minister.

A decree on the establishment of a Russian Defense Ministry had long been expected, but the candidacy of the possible minister had caused serious disagreements and provoked a vigorous and for the most part behind-the-scenes struggle between different political groupings

in the Russian and army leadership. All the candidates who were discussed (Grachev, Kobets, Kokoshin, Starovoytova, etc.) provoked considerable opposition, so in the end a compromise was chosen who could somehow satisfy everybody. After all, while there is to be just one minister, he can have as many deputies as he likes. Admittedly, as a result of the compromise, what has been established is a Defense Ministry that lacks both an army and, essentially, a minister. So the struggle over who will head the country's most important department in practice and not just in name will continue, only now at a different level.

At yesterday's session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium, however, the final point discussed (in the absence of the press) was the "military" question. Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov, President Yeltsin's adviser, delivered the main report, in which, among other things, he said: "We have to establish Russian Armed Forces that will be a reliable guarantee of security. As before, nuclear deterrence remains one of the main forms of ensuring our security. The Russian Defense Ministry will be a civilian department. The operational command of the troops will be carried out by the General Staff. In the near future the Russian Armed Forces will be under the operational command of the CIS High Command. We propose to set up an interstate committee on military policy and reform. We need to adopt a social protection program for Russian servicemen on Russian Federation territory and abroad (Germany, Poland, the Baltic states, Mongolia, etc.). Radical reform of the Russian Armed Forces will take two years. The army and navy's strength will be reduced to 1.25-1.5 million men. Initially the army will be constituted on a mixed professional-cum-draft principle, but later it will become entirely "contractual." Russia's new military doctrine is to avoid conflicts. The military-technical course will be aimed at sharply reducing nuclear weapons."

Following the announcement that a Russian Defense Ministry is to be set up and the statement about transferring the armed forces to the operational command of the Joint Armed Forces High Command, Russia will propose to the other CIS countries that they conclude a two-stage defense (collective security) treaty (first signing a protocol of intent). CIS member countries that do not intend to set up their own armed forces (Kazakhstan, the Central Asian countries, etc.) will be told to determine together with Russia the status of troops currently stationed on their territory. Further discussion of military problems will continue in the Russian Parliament 26 March, again in closed session.

Political, Military Aspects Eyed

LD1703020592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Andrey Krasnov commentary]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's scheduled break in Sochi came to an end on 16 March as he arrived in Moscow. While the president was unpacking his suitcases, Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray prepared a little surprise for the journalists. He told a news conference that the president has signed a decree on the creation of a Russian Ministry of Defense. According to Shakhray, the duties of the defense minister will be carried out temporarily by Boris Yeltsin himself. At the same time, the vice premier was at pains to say that it is not the case that Russian armed forces are being created, although he immediately noted that in fact these already exist. All these qualifications are purest diplomacy. In actual fact, Russia has embarked on the creation of its own army. This decision means in practice that the CIS Armed Forces are living out their final days. Moscow fought a long fight against splitting the army up into its national headquarters but in the end was unable to hold out against its avowed friends in the Commonwealth.

The creation of a Russian Ministry of Defense has a political as well as a military aspect. Obviously the definitive collapse of the Union army will deal yet another blow to the CIS. Like the celebrated Canterville ghost, the spectre fades literally before one's eyes. Fewer and fewer ties remain to link the republics to one another. In this sense it is worth noting that Boris Yeltsin's decree has been made public soon after the decision by Ukraine to suspend the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from its territory. Thus, Kiev's actions have not gone unanswered. Russia simply could not delay the creation of its own military structures any longer.

Today, naturally enough, everyone is interested in who will be the first Russian defense minister. Boris Yeltsin is scarcely likely to carry out these duties himself for any length of time. By assuming the office, the president has evidently taken a time-out in order to find a suitable candidate. Three candidates are currently being named in Boris Yeltsin's entourage. They are Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, current leader of the CIS Armed Forces; Pavel Grachev, a general close to Yeltsin; and Konstantin Kobets, who found fame during defense of the White House. It has not, it is true, been ruled out that the defense minister might be a civilian politician and in this connection the name of Galina Starovoytova, the president's advisor on interethnic issues, is being mentioned. Incidentally, a dark horse could emerge at the last moment, particularly since Boris Yeltsin is already renowned for his unexpected personnel decisions. For the moment, somewhat nervous, the Army awaits the latest round of changes.

Shakhray Addresses Tatarstan Issues, Congress

LD1703000292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1153 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] We now have our parliamentary correspondent Vladimir Kornikov on the line. He has already reported

to us on the setting-up of a Defense Ministry in Russia, and now we have him on the line again. Please report, Vladimir Konstantinovich.

[Kornikov] A large group of questions to Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray dealt with the situation in Tatarstan and the decision by the Constitutional Court deeming it unconstitutional for the matter of the Tatar Republic's sovereignty and independence to be put to a referendum. Shakhray emphasized that this amounted to a continued playing of an old card which as far back as the time of the Novo-Ogarevo process the center had played against Democratic Russia, which had only just come into being at that time. At that time the autonomous formations, where the former party bureaucracy was in power were used to break up Democratic Russia. And as you can guess, such attempts have not ended. If the referendum were to be held in Tatarstan and a yes vote were received, then this would mean a coup d'etat, according to Shakhray. The collapse of Russia. So, in this case, the constitution and our federation would need defending.

As for the situation inside Tatarstan itself, Shakhray's view is that the leadership there, by clever maneuvering, has so far kept the nationalists in a neutral position. However, the tactic of making concessions, including putting the problem of the referendum to the people, marked a further [word indistinct] exacerbation of the situation and effectively sealed the fate of the present president of Tatarstan and of his leadership in power in the republic. The example of Georgia is worth recalling in this sense. As far as the right to national self-determination, which is being employed, so to speak, as the main argument in defense of the right of Tatarstan to hold a referendum, then Shakhray, as a legal expert, said that in its pure form this right cannot be realized, and in an ethnically pure form the realization of the right to the creation of an ethnically pure state no less than simple apartheid. The right of a people liv..ig on this territory to have self-determination is another thing. So, the Russians which are a part of the people living in Tatarstan have the same rights to the creation of some kind of statehood as the Tatars.

Finally Shakhray pointed to the Constitutional Court's decision which categorically acknowledged the supremacy on the territory of Tatarstan of Russian law, all parts of which are relevant to federal problems. In the view of the president's adviser, the Constitutional Court's decision on Tatarstan opens the way to accord in, among others, the delicate sphere of relations among nationalities.

There were very many questions concerning the congress of people's deputies of the USSR and the fact that it is beginning work tomorrow in Moscow. The journalists who were at the news conference in the Moscow Hotel reported that the leadership, the organizational committee of the congress, is organizing the departure of buses with journalists and deputies from this hotel to the center of the capital to where the congress will convene. No preventative measures whatsoever will be taken against these buses, Shakhray said. No one will take the deputies away to places to be kept under guard.

It is necessary first to wait to see what decisions are adopted by the congress, whether it sets itself up, whether it creates the post of president and appoints some person to this post, whether it sets up some kind of parallel body of authority, and then, according to Shakhray, the elements of a crime will be formed and the Russian authorities will have to act in accordance with this.

Remarks On 'Little Sensation'

OW1603170692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1554 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a news conference in Moscow Friday [13 March] Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray described a decree on creation of the republican Defense Ministry signed by President Boris Yeltsin March 16 as "a little sensation".

Commenting on the decree at the request of IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent, the deputy chairman of the government noted that it should not be perceived as a signal to other republics to set up their national armies. On the contrary, the decree serves as an example of laying the legal basis for the preservation of the national military units as parts of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. The decree also denies accusations brought against Russia that it uses the CIS Joint Armed Forces in its interests.

Speaking about the Russian Constitutional Court's decision that Tatarstan's intention to hold a referendum on sovereignty runs contrary to the Russian Constitution, the vice premier pointed out that he strongly opposes the imposition of an emergency situation both in the autonomy and in the Russian Federation as a whole. He said in order to prevent "unconstitutional developments in Tatarstan" only political measures can be used. Noting Russia's unconditional non-recognition of the planned referendum in Tatarstan, Shakhray expressed hope that "the logic of coexistence" will finally dominate.

Describes Yeltsin's Duties

LD1603214392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1645 GMT 16 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow [dateline as received]—Russian President Boris Yeltsin became acting defense minister of the Russian Federation.

A decree on creation of the defense ministry was signed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin on March 16, Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Russian government, told a news conference. The terms of reference of the

acting Russia defense minister will temporarily include only financial issues, technical supplies, personnel structure, military constructions and other issues. The Armed Forces of the Russian Federation will be under control of the Joint Command of the CIS Armed Forces which corresponds to the concept according to which the Russian defense ministry is a civil agency. The president who is a civil person will be acting defense minister. This approach has been approved by the Committee on Defense and Security of the Armed Forces. The structure of the command of the Joint Armed Forces is to be approved by the council of heads of states—members of the CIS, Shakhray stressed.

Discusses Congress, Federative Treaty

LD1603192492 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—The so-called 6th Congress of Soviet People's Deputies scheduled to take place in Moscow on March 17 "will attempt to create parallel bodies of power in Russia", Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray told journalists.

Shakhray warned against underestimating the consequences of the action and said the matter is more serious than just a political farce.

According to Shakhray, the transition period, which Russia now experiences, is characterised by a certain balance of political forces and the old structures who suffered a defeat earlier, preserved a chance of returning to power.

Shakhray spoke highly of the Russian federative treaty initialed by the majority of Russian constituent republics last week and said it will form a legal foundation for economic reform to proceed in Russia.

Gaydar Cited on Monetary Reform, Convertibility

MK1303132992 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian No 11, 15 Mar 92 (Signed to Press 10 Mar 92) p 15

[Interview with Russian First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar by Vladimir Orlov; place and date not given: "Gaydar Saves the Soviet Ruble"]

[Text] Yegor Gaydar, first vice premier in the Russian Government, agreed to a request from a MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent and gave us his views on the three most acute economic reform problems now facing his team.

[Orlov] Is there going to be a monetary reform?

[Gaydar] I am convinced it can be avoided. If Russia accounted for 30-35 percent of the former USSR's economic potential, it would be unrealistic to attempt to stabilize the Union ruble. But Russia accounts for approximately 60-70 percent, so the only responsible policy is to save the present monetary unit.

[Orlov] Is the ruble going to be convertible?

[Gaydar] Ruble convertibility at a comparatively stable exchange rate depends only on the level of our cooperation with the world financial community and its institutions. There are no internal reasons why this task could not be resolved by the beginning of the summer.

[Orlov] Will there be a new round of inflation when prices of energy sources are freed?

[Gaydar] Certainly. But energy-intensive sectors must gradually adapt to the new prices without allowing production to decline excessively. Moreover, we cannot let inflation get out of control. To this end we will use our potential for economic maneuver. [Gaydar ends]

Yegor Gaydar granted an interview to the German magazine DER SPIEGEL this week.

Asked by the magazine whether it is proper that foreigners should have to spend hours waiting in line to exchange dollars for rubles, Gaydar was sarcastic: "That's terrible, it takes a lot to make a man cry, but I feel like shedding a tear." And he added that it would be better to feel sorry for the Russian people who cannot afford to exchange rubles for dollars.

When the question concerned the possibility of the government's resignation, Gaydar replied, without any irony this time: "There is only one taboo in our government—a taboo on talk of resignation."

Arbatov Assails Destructive 'Gaydarism'

MK1303124592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 92 p 4

["Opinion" article by Academician Georgiy Arbatov [G.A.]: "'Gaydarism' Is a Reaction to Our Own Marxism. References to World Experience Are Unfounded"]

[Text] In recent months, like many other people, I am sure, I have experienced a sense of increasing alarm. It is inspired primarily by the situation in the economy and by the course pursued in this sphere by the Russian Government since the start of this year. In this connection I think the article by N. Petrakov, V. Perlamutrov, and their colleagues published in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA for 6 March was extremely well founded. For my part I would like to add a few points to their analysis.

When answering their critics the architects of the present course often say that their program has undergone expert international assessment, enjoys the support of extremely eminent foreign economists, and essentially indicates the only possible, indeed unavoidable road—a road already traveled by Mexico, Poland, and other countries. All three claims are untrue. At any rate, they are by no means the whole truth.

As far as expert international assessment is concerned, I think it is rather a question of borrowings both from the works of individual Western experts and from works about the Soviet economy published in recent years by international economic and financial organizations—the IMF, the International Bank, and others. For all the respect I feel for these organizations, I would venture to say that we cannot regard them as incontestable authorities on our own affairs, especially when you take into account the uniqueness of conditions in Russia and the unprecedented nature of the tasks it is resolving today. Moreover, in borrowing, the architects of our reform have simplified and distorted a great deal in an attempt to accomplish on the fly, at a single stroke, what foreign experts were proposing as a long-term aim.

Now a few words about scientists. They have very diverse attitudes toward what is described as the "Gaydar reform." And this is natural. The basic ideas of this reform are derived from the so-called "Chicago school" of economists, and supporters of that school are bound to approve of the current policy of Russia's economic cabinet. One of them—Jeffrey Sachs—has even become an official adviser to the Russian Government, so far as I can tell.

These are the "supporters," so to speak. They also include certain politicians. It seems to me their support stems mostly from "theological," ideological considerations—they are deeply gratified that everything is presented as a transition to capitalism (although people in the West almost never describe their society in those terms). But there are many "opponents" among economists and also businesspeople and politicians. Here is an example.

A meeting of the "Committee on Soviet-American Relations," the U.S. public organization, was held in late January in Washington specially to discuss the question of the new course in Russia's economic policy. The report was delivered by that same Jeffrey Sachs. Commenting on it, J. Galbraith, the world-famous American economist, said: "The West knows all too well that this kind of approach is unacceptable. And so it will never allow it to be put into practice in its own countries." Professor Marshall Goldman (a well known specialist on our economy, incidentally) said: "It is impossible to balance the budget merely by reducing demand (by increasing prices and taxes, squeezing credit, and so forth—G.A.), as the Russian Government is doing. The result will be that supply, which remains under the control of the corrupt bureaucracy, will also be reduced, exacerbating all the problems."

Jeffrey Sachs himself was also unusually modest. He said that "shock therapy has a chance of succeeding, but only if the West provides considerable assistance, especially for the ruble stabilization fund. Unfortunately, the West is scarcely mobilizing such assistance." When one of the audience asked how Professor Sachs could recommend to Russia a policy so dependent on Western aid, which clearly will not be forthcoming, he replied in irritation: "The Russian Government will either succeed along this road or not, it was the only correct road..." So there. The professor will remain piously certain of his own total correctness even if there is famine and dislocation in Russia, with all the ensuing political consequences.

Now for the countries whose experience, in the opinion of the architects of our economic policy, should convince us all that they are right. I visited Mexico last month and asked specially to meet with the people who are engaged in practical implementation of the reforms. These people were very cautious when it came to giving advice and emphasized that they themselves were wary of copying anybody's course and considered that the most important thing was to take into account Mexico's specific conditions and particular features. But it transpired that their reform is radically different from ours. For instance, in that the main emphasis was placed not only on liberalizing prices, but on opening the country to foreign goods and capital. Because they proceeded from the premise that competition is an essential condition for forming a market. And emphasis was also placed on privatizing state property (apart from oil, which remains in state hands). And they showed real concern for the social security of their citizens, going so far as to hand out bread for free to people below the poverty line (1 kg of cornbread per person per day).

Moreover, they made it a rule to have, in their expression, "complete transparency," that is, exhaustive information about all economic affairs and open discussion of every question that might arise. So questions of prices, taxes, and wages are coordinated at special meetings held every Thursday morning by the four economics ministers and the leaders of labor unions, entrepreneurs' associations, and peasant organizations. And appropriate guarantees are given that further changes in the particular sphere (prices, taxes, and so forth) will not be required for a stipulated period—say six months or a year. That is, there is a kind of social contract between the people and the government.

Does this resemble our practice? Not very much. So why not learn from this at least?

Now a few words about Poland. It is often held up as an example. Again wrongly, in my view. We are very different countries. Poland has strong agriculture capable of reliably feeding the country. The remnants of private trade and production were not eradicated there. Nor does Poland have our ethnic problems. Moreover, when the reforms began, support for the government and support for "Solidarity" was enviably strong.

Today the situation has changed—for many months now the country has been unable to emerge from a political crisis. Primarily because the results of the reform have been very mixed and have caused deep disappointment and resentment among a considerable section of the population. It is still not altogether clear how all this will end. Yes, there are plenty of goods on the shelves, inflation has been stopped, and you can exchange the

zloty for any currency. But pay is low, there is not enough money to buy necessities, unemployment is growing at a threatening pace, and production is declining. Opposition to the leadership is growing. So you should not rush to conclusions.

But one thing is clear—the allusions to world science and international experience are unfounded. The results of what is happening should be assessed on the basis of our own yardsticks. Which I think the Russian academics headed by Petrakov cogently did in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

I have the feeling that the reader may reproach me: Where have you been hiding, why did you say nothing before? My reply would be that I did not remain silent, although maybe I did not speak loudly enough. Partly because I am not a professional economist. But today it is simply impossible to remain silent. As the "Memorandum" of our government economists published recently indicates, an even more dangerous step is in store—the lifting of restrictions on the prices of practically everything, including bread and oil.

I think that all this may lead to disruption of the sowing campaign and the destruction of agriculture. And likewise most of industry.

And in terms of living standards it threatens to bring us down to the standards of underdeveloped countries.

In fact the principles and approaches to reform adopted by the IMF, which our legislators of economic fashion are so eager to join (I would hasten to assure you that I too favor joining the IMF, but not at any price!), are tailored primarily for those countries. Not least in order to obtain debts from them at any price. Incidentally, not everyone agrees with the IMF demands, sometimes a country successfully contests them and wins (that applies to Mexico, for instance).

In general, the situation is very dangerous. And at the very least I agree with one proposal by N. Petrakov and his colleagues: We need parliamentary hearings on the economic situation. We must rid ourselves of the secrecy and tendency to improvise that has begun to prevail in the Russian Government.

For years we conducted endless arguments about various aspects and various programs of economic reform. Then we adopted without any discussion a version that no one had seriously considered. In general we rushed from one system of dogma to another, opposite system. In this sense "Gaydarism" is a reaction or, more accurately, a superreaction to our own recent dogmatic Marxism. Like any extreme, this system of views is destructive. We are already on the very brink. We should at least retreat from it and refrain from further adventures. Not in order then to return to the past, but in order to really embark on the path of effective economic reform. Unfortunately, that has still not begun.

Now a couple of nonprofessional criticisms. I am astonished at the ruthlessness of this group of government economists, the cruelty they parade and sometimes flaunt, portraying it as resolve, perhaps in an attempt to please the IMF. They assure people that they are engaged in hard work and complex calculations from morning till night. But I am afraid they have not bothered to calculate how the overwhelming majority of the country's population can make ends meet and many millions simply physically survive given the existing prices, let alone the future ones. Or what is going to happen to us both as people and as a society—are we going to run wild, are we going to descend to the level of animals in the "Brave New World" (that, I would remind you, was the title of one of the first dystopias, which was written by Aldous Huxley) that the economic cabinet has prepared for us? Especially as the first victims of the present pseudoreform will be science, culture, education, and public health. And without those we are not merely not a great power, but not a power at all.

I do not think that this fate is inevitable. I do not believe that, in radically rectifying matters in the economy, we must first become totally impoverished and degraded. I am convinced that there are other ways. But they must be persistently sought without placing undue trust in even the most sympathetic of young people.

Impact of Price Hikes, Indexation Discussed

PM1303161792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 92 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Interview with Yevgeniy Gontmakher, chief of the Ministry of Labor and Employment Administration for Living Standards and the Population's Income Policy, by Olga Plakhotnikova; place and date not given: "Standard of Living—Indexation Will Not Overfill Pockets"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] When it warned of the imminent price liberalization, the government promised to compensate, albeit partially, the sharp fall in living standards. The Law on Indexation of the Population's Incomes was adopted. Most people were well aware that the government could not provide 100-percent compensation for the damage done to their pockets. But nevertheless some support—albeit small—was expected. So where is it? Will incomes be indexed, and if so how and when? We talk about this with Yevgeniy Gontmakher, chief of the Ministry of Labor and Employment Administration for Living Standards and the Population's Income Policy.

[Gontmakher] It would be unfair to claim that no indexation at all is being carried out while the authorities are waiting for a particular moment in time to launch it. As of 1 December, wages for workers within the budget sphere were increased by 90 percent. In January-March they will rise by a further 45 percent. So on the whole, in the period between 1 December and 1 March, incomes for "budget-funded personnel" has gone up by a factor of 2.8.

As of 1 January the minimum pension rose to 342 rubles [R]. One-shot compensation payments are being paid: Pensioners will receive an additional R200, and benefit receipients will get either R100 or R50.

The basic categories of budget-funded payments have risen noticeably. Compared to the end of November, the average pension at the end of the first quarter (taking the R200 into account) is 3.25 times higher. The overall sum for grants and benefits is up by 3.6 times.

[Plakhotnikova] Let us first of all look at the commitments being undertaken by the government in connection with the price hikes.

[Gontmakher] In principle there could be various approaches here. The state could commit itself to full compensation, as was done (in words, at any rate) by the Ryzhkov government. But if we opt for full, 100-percent indexation in connection with the price hikes, then we are doing the people no favors: The payment of a huge wad of paper money engenders hyperinflation which eats up any supplements granted by the state, thus lowering the population's living standards even further.

It is possible to take the path of minimal compensation set at a level of 20-30 percent of the total price hikes. However, such purely symbolic indexation as this is fraught with social upheaval: It forces people on fixed incomes into an existence below any acceptable poverty lines.

Western experts believe that the best option is to repay to the population approximately two-thirds (65-70 percent) of the damage suffered as a result of the price hikes. No more, no less. This is the figure that represents our target. Incidentally, in the draft general agreement between the government, the trade unions, and the entrepreneurs, the government undertakes to compensate the price rise by 65 percent in 1992.

[Plakhotnikova] According to the official Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] figures, the price index in January stood at 350 percent compared to the end of December. The trade unions' figures seem far more realistic—they talk about a ten-fold increase. So just what is the price index? And it would be interesting to know how the Goskomstat managed to arrive at an increase by a factor of only 3.5?

[Gontmakher] We have to differentiate between the purchase price and the registration price. Say we went to a commercial store and saw a man's coat at R10,000. We would not buy it, of course! Perhaps we can buy the very same coat in a state store for, theoretically speaking, R3,000. Thus, the purchase price was 3,000, and the registration price—R6,500. This is what happens in reality: People strive to purchase cheaper items.

The index price is based on volumes of actual goods bought at the purchase price. For example: One tonne of boiled sausage is bought in a store at R80 per kg along with one kg of smoked sausage at R300. Each price is multiplied by the volume of the purchase and these figures are added together. This calculation is done for each item.

Of course, the Goskomstat figures—the 350 percent price index—appear somewhat understated. Alternative estimates put this indicator at 560 percent and more. But I can explain why the Goskomstat talks about a 350-percent increase. Take, for example, the situation with dairy produce. Their consumption by the families of workers and employees fell by 24 percent compared to last December, mainly at the expense of butter, cheese, and sour cream which saw a price increase by a factor of several dozen. At the same time, the price of milk approximately trebled. Demand swung away from the expensive produce and toward milk. As a result, the overall price index for dairy products rose just over threefold.

A similar situation exists with sausage. There was a ten-fold drop in purchases of expensive smoked sausage, while that for boiled sausage fell to a lesser degree. Even though just three months ago the level of income was not really relevant, so both kinds were purchased.

As you can see, after free prices were introduced, people's consumer habits changed drastically. Many people buy mainly those goods whose prices are regulated. Demand for goods whose prices have increased by between 1,000 and 1,500 percent has fallen by a factor of several dozen. If you take the average weighted [srednevzveshenniy] price for a whole "range" of goods, there is an obvious distortion in favor of the relatively cheap goods.

In January Russia's population purchased 71 percent fewer goods (at comparable prices) than in December last year. This 71 percent mainly comprises expensive clothing and the most expensive foodstuffs.

It is no accident that I am dwelling on the price index problem in such detail. The amount of compensation measures introduced by the government depends directly upon this figure.

Let us look at indexation for January. For pensions, with due account of the fact that the minimum pension went up to R342, compensation reached 65 percent. In other words, two-thirds of losses resulting from the price hikes were repaid to pensioners, if you go by the Goskomstat figures. There was an almost 80 percent indexation for those benefit recipents in January. Benefits were increased by 60 percent in December, and they went up again in January. So take, for example, one of the most common benefits which was introduced after "Pavlov's" 2 April 1991 price hikes—R40 for every child not receiving other benefits. In December it was increased by 60 percent to R64, and as of 1 January it went up to R86. As a result, in the period from December to January this benefit more than doubled.

Wages for workers within the budget-funded sphere in December-January increased by a factor of 1.9, which represents a 60 percent compensation for the price hikes.

If we look at the alternative estimates, according to which January's price index stood at 500-600 percent, then it turns out that the authorities' measures compensated the population for 40 percent of the price hikes.

There are two ways of conducting indexation: In advance, or "according to results," in arrears. In the first quarter, both methods are being used. Anticipatory measures in some spheres were quite substantial, but obviously there will be something to be paid in arrears.

Here are some preliminary estimates for the first quarter. In January the price index was 350 percent. There was no price revolution in February and prices rose, according to certain estimates, by 15-20 percent. If this stable situation persists through March and prices rise at approximately the same rate as in February, then we will have something like a five-fold price increase in the first quarter. This is the most optimistic forecast, but it is possible. As a result it turns out that we have already managed to compensate the population for around 70 percent of the price hikes and in theory, according to the results of the first quarter, there will be no need to implement indexation.

If we take the more realistic estimates which indicate that prices will rise eightfold in the first quarter, the level of compensation will turn out to be around 40 percent, which means the population will have been "short-changed" by 25 percent. In that case, when we sum up the results in April, we will make additional payments.

[Plakhotnikova] Everything sounds fine in words, but in reality the government's "protection" measures leave people with a feeling of dissatisfaction. Today's indexation is almost imperceptible, which is proved best of all by empty purses.

[Gontmakher] Compensation will proceed at a level of 65-70 percent. The state cannot go any higher as this would be suicide. But there are some purely psychological factors at play here. Many payments are delayed for purely technical reasons. There may be no cash, or the accounting section may have trouble re-calculating.

Of course, it would be nice to pay people a bit more. But where will the additional resources come from? The only way out today is to try to redistribute the money spent on social programs. In our country there are some benefits paid to all population groups irrespective of the level of income. For example, the old R40 benefit for children. Today it has become R86, which is virtually nothing for families on higher incomes. At the same time, for a family with a per capita monthly income of R300-400, this represents a sizeable sum. By streamlining entitlement for this benefit, we could give more substantial support to those who really need it without increasing the amount of money being spent on social programs. This work is currently under way.

[Plakhotnikova] Last October the Law on Indexation of the Population's Income was adopted. But it seems to have been forgotten. Why, instead of acting according to the law, are new approaches being devised?

[Gontmakher] No, the law is operational. According to this law, it is only the income of "budget-funded personnel" (wages for workers in the non-production sphere, pensions, grants, and benefits) which are being indexed. For everybody else, the state is only regulating the size of the minimum wage.

When the Law on Indexation was being adopted, the socioeconomic situation was quite different. Nobody could have imagined at that time that within a month prices would jump several times over. They geared themselves toward a slow price increase. Furthermore, Article 1 of the law itself states: "Indexation can be combined with, and in some cases even replaced by, other methods of state regulation for the population's income (review of wage levels, the size of pensions, social benefits, and so on.)" So there is no contradiction between the law and the government's actions.

Internal Affairs To 'Thwart' Moscow Disorder

LD1703000392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] If there is large scale disorder in Moscow on 17 March, the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry will be forced to call on all its reserves to thwart it, Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin said. We are forecasting the situation not just in Moscow but in other Federation cities, as well, he said. The tactics of our actions is strict observance of the law and noninterference in the political situation. If everything keeps within the law, the militia will not intervene, the minister said.

[Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian at 1900 GMT on 16 March adds in a similar report: "Arkadiy Murashev, chief of the Moscow city internal affairs adminstration, expressed hope that the demonstration on 17 March will pass without breaches of public order. Addressing deputies of the Moscow City Soviet, he noted that the mayor's decision to permit the demonstration had considerably defused the situation in the city. Murashev said that technical preparations for the event are currently under way. The head of Moscow's main administration for internal affairs stressed, however, that the Moscow authorities had a complete lack of trust in the organizers of the demonstration. This is why the militia reserves the right to take preventive measures. He reported in this regard that access to the Kremlin would be closed on the morning of 17 March to prevent a possible seizure of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, as he put it."]

MDR To Draft Alternative Constitution

MK1403100192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 2

[Vladimir Todres report under the rubric "Constitution" incorporating interview with St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak conducted in St. Petersburg 12 March: "Tavricheskiy Palace Versus White House. Anatoliy Sobchak Is in Favor of a Guberniya Structure for Russia. But Only in the Long Term"]

[Text] Gavriil Popov was forced to authorize the 17 March communist demonstration since the Russian Supreme Soviet, afraid of the burden of responsibility, could not bring itself to take a sober look at the situation. That is how you could summarize what the Moscow mayor said in the Red Hall of St. Petersburg's Tavricheskiy Palace. As is well known, this was where Milyukov announced the end of the Russian monarchy in February 1917 and Zheleznyak announced that the sailors of the guard were feeling tired in January 1918. On Thursday [12 March] it was where the mayors of the two capitals announced that another crucial moment has arrived in the country's history.

Popov reiterated his idea that "the main reason for the death of democracy in Eurasia was tolerance of extremism," and therefore he takes a different view of the rallies of democrats and of communists and does not regard the dispersal of the prohibited meeting 23 February as a big mistake, while the general who died there "was actually a veteran not so much of the war as of the NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs]."

However, the contribution of the Russian MDR [Movement for Democratic Reforms] to the country's salvation will not be confined to dispersing Leninists in the capital. Over dinner in the Smolnyy the movement's Political Council (which, besides Popov and Sobchak, consists chiefly of staffers of Moscow City Hall) decided urgently to write a new republic constitution, and Aleksandr Yakovlev, who was present at the occasion, gave this his blessing. The text will be created by a group of jurists headed by Sobchak in which Yuriy Kalmykov and Sergey Alekseyev have agreed to take part. In an interview with your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent Anatoliy Sobchak set out the Russian MDR's basic constitutional ideas and formulated his complaints about "Rumyantsev's draft."

[Sobchak] This draft repeats the mistake of all the socialist constitutions. It is verbose and vague and contains too few fundamentally new ideas. Especially regarding the two main questions—Russia's national-state structure and the correlation between the basic institutions of power (the president, parliament, and executive structures). Unfortunately, it continues a tradition that arose back in the Union Constitutional Commission: Work was carried out secretly, among a narrow circle. And as a result nothing came of it. The same thing is happening today—the Constitutional Commission turned neither to Kalmykov, to Alekseyev, nor to me. Yet they are extremely well known academics... In my view, the discussion draft is not very professionally written. But the more discussions there are, the better.

[Todres] Do you bear a professional grudge against Rumyantsev?

[Sobchak] No. No grudges. The whole problem is that they did not enlist the help of professionals, so they have ended up with an unprofessional draft. You can't make a constitution out of it.

[Todres] So what do you propose?

[Sobchak] Until work on our draft has been completed, I would not like to talk about this. When it is ready, we will certainly give everything the widest publicity. Not only in the press. We will certainly have to convene a conference before the April Congress.

[Todres] But what about the basic ideas...

[Sobchak] There is one idea I would like to share—about Russia's national-state structure. Today we have become bogged down—first in the Union, then in Russia—in Stalin's idea of "autonomies." This is extremely reactionary and leads only to one thing—to infringements of the rights of everybody. All peoples and nations without exception, small and large. Today, because of this idea and the corresponding state structure, the 4 million Ukrainians in Russia, 1.5 million Greeks, and many others have no representation at all in the supreme organs of power. On the other hand much smaller national formations are represented. We are also running up against the fact, for instance, that the rights of Tatars living outside Tatarstan are in no way defended.

[Todres] So are you in favor of a division into guberniyas [prerevolutionary territorial division] and national-cultural autonomous formations instead of territorial formations?

[Sobchak] No, at the moment I am speaking of another possibility. Maybe its historical source lies to some extent in experience of Russian statehood. Russia must have a special treaty with every people. And it must switch to treaty-based relations between the Federation and each national-state formation, bearing in mind that these formations may be totally different. In the Russian empire separate legislation on land and ownership was regarded as enough for Estlandia. But Finland had its own parliament. Relations with Poland were different, and with Bukhara. Khivoy had its own relations. I do not mean that this scenario was ideal—it suffered from all the shortcomings of autocracy and the imperial organization of power. But I think the actual idea of different treaty-based conditions for membership of the Federation according to historical and other features is fruitful.

And the main point is that all this is designed for the transitional period. In the future, when we have created a unified economic, legal, and social space, what will remain is what you mention: national-cultural

autonomy. There will not even be any need for more. Then discussion of some kind of unified structural formations such as states, laender, or cantons will begin. At present this is unacceptable to us. We must be pragmatic and try to prevent the disintegration of the state. So I think this idea must be discussed. [Sobchak ends]

According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's information, the draft will be speedily elaborated and may be presented to a broad audience—the Russian MDR Political Council, meeting together with the Council of Russian Cities—in Novosibirsk 2 April. Its appearance will certainly deepen the split at the Congress of Deputies by further angering the autonomous formations, and it may totally paralyze the high-level meeting. However, Popov makes no secret of the fact that the Russian MDR is hoping in this way to irrevocably defeat representative power of the Soviet type, which both mayors dislike. According to him, if it fails to solve the constitutional problem the Congress of Deputies should be the last one—Popov and Sobchak are convinced that it will be followed by a Constituent Assembly. This will adopt the Russian fundamental law. And after that it will be perfectly logical to reelect the whole of the representative branch from bottom to top on the basis of totally new principles, which is something the "mayoral" wing of the MDR has long been persistently seeking.

Rumyantsev Constitution Faces Rivals

MK1403120192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 92 pp 1, 2

[Report by Sergey Parkhomenko: "Constitutional Truce Broken. Which Draft Fundamental Law Will Be the First To Land on Yeltsin's Desk"]

[Text] There is still a vacancy for a "Russian Madison." The contest among the competitors for the historic laurels of father of the Russian constitution continues, and it will go on right up to 6 April (unless the opening of the Russian congress is delayed, which is a possibility that is still not being excluded by certain authoritative figures inside the White House). Moreover, during this final stage the competition is taking on a confrontational character and at the same time is being colored by increasing tension, if not bitterness, on the part of the participants.

Only a few weeks ago, when the constitutional question was placed on the draft congressional agenda, the situation was completely clear. The right of the Russian Federation Constitutional Commission, officially headed by President Yeltsin but in fact led by Executive Secretary Oleg Rumyantsev, to present its draft of the Russian Federation fundamental law for ratification without any competition seemed indisputable. After all, it was none other than this big team of deputies and experts which devoted nearly two years of persistent work to implanting among the parliamentary masses the very idea of constitutional reform. But, as can happen in a fertile, lovingly cultivated cornfield, the noxious weeds of opposition sprouted up especially luxuriantly.

However, jokes here are clearly not particularly appropriate: The gravity of the prevailing situation is predetermined by the fact that the conservative opposition on this occasion is acting with exceptional cohesion and purpose. In the opinion of one of the leaders of the Constitutional Commission, there appears to be a certain division of labor, a certain specialization (it is not so important whether it arose spontaneously or was deliberately organized) among the parliamentary factions opposing the supporters of the "Rumyantsev draft." The weakest of these, the much depleted "Communists of Russia" group, burst forth with a complete alternative draft constitution, which, of course, had no chances of getting through. However, the targeted strikes of the two big guns were much more effective: The "New Generation—New Politics" faction distributed its own version of the section dealing with the system of state power; and the "Sovereignty and Equality" faction offered an independent conception of the federative structure of reform Russia.

But it was the role of the association of deputies from the autonomous formations—and they constitute the backbone of "Sovereignty and Equality," one of the most influential formations among the republic corps of deputies—which was initially evaluated as being crucial to the fate of the new Russian Federation Constitution. At his recent news conference Oleg Rumyantsev emphasized in particular the importance of the compromise which had been reached: If the section on the national-state structure were first presented separately to the autonomous formations in the form of a Federation Treaty and were accepted by them, the faction would support the draft. The Constitutional Commission even succeeded in moving a step further: The autonomous formations apparently would not object to renaming the Federation Treaty the Agreement on the Demarcation of Powers. But now the fragile truce has collapsed.

One can only guess at the degree to which responsibility for this discord is attributable to the chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, Ramazan Abdulatipov, who has been working especially energetically in recent days. His closeness to the "Sovereignty and Equality" group is no special secret to anyone in parliament, and many there are inclined to think of him as the initiator of the creation of that faction and its secret leader, or at any rate the coordinator of its efforts. It is therefore difficult to believe that the the activation of the "nationals" in the pre-Congress debate on the constitution merely happened to coincide with a whole series of meetings and gatherings organized by Abdulatipov.

The culmination was to have been the meeting between the chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chamber and a group of high officials from the parliaments of the autonomous formations scheduled for Thursday [12 March]. Khanty-Mansiysk, the center of the okrug of the same name in Tyumen Oblast, was

chosen as the site for the meeting. And the secrecy maintained in convening the meeting, by virtue of which the organizers managed almost completely to prevent any leaks of information regarding the program and tasks, certainly brought to mind various historical analogies such as the famous Social-Democratic Congress in the London flour shop. Today the only thing which can be said with relative confidence is that the consultations in Khanty-Mansiysk could not ignore the talks under the chairmanship of Ruslan Khasbulatov scheduled for the end of the week: The heads of the highest legislative bodies from the autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs were invited to Moscow for agreement on and possible preliminary signing of that same Agreement on the Demarcation of Powers.

However, it is now very doubtful whether anything again entitled the Federation Treaty will emerge as a result of the debate. For it was not for nothing that the "Sovereignty and Equality" faction chose this moment to disseminate its own alternative draft in the White House.

In short, the aforementioned initiative document is a close relative of the Union Treaties of the best Gorbachev era. It shows all the hallmarks. There is the classic Russian-doll arrangement of sovereignties, whereby the Federation—a full subject of international law—is supposed to contain within it a whole brood of small but equally fully fledged mini-subjects. And there are the perpetually protruding unruly locks of the regulated planned market, where it is proposed to ratify as a constitutional norm the "coordination of interregional deliveries of food and industrial consumer goods." Then there is the right of autonomous formations to ratify federal normative acts on an extremely wide range of "joint powers," which makes interparliamentary and interpresidential squabbles inevitable. In addition to everything else, you also have to note the exceptional sloppiness of the authors' wording, which indicates either that the text was hastily prepared or that the compilers were poorly qualified for the job.

But nevertheless the main problem is not this but the clear incompatibility of the proposed concept with any federal constitution. The resultant ephemeral formation, whose subjects would be "national states that have voluntarily united on the basis of the present treaty," simply would not have any need of such a constitution. It would have no need—that is the firm conviction of supporters of the Constitutional Commission. On its behalf (by agreement with the parliamentary commission on the national-state structure and interethnic relations) a draft Agreement on the Demarcation of Powers will be submitted at the meeting of heads of parliaments—essentially a slightly adapted version of the corresponding section of the "Rumyantsev constitution." Let me remind you yet again: This was precisely the original understanding reached with the deputies from the autonomous formations. But it is highly questionable whether they will now recall that understanding.

Finally, yet another party of people hankering after Madison's glory has appeared "before the closure of the competition." There was some astonishment in the White House Wednesday [11 March] at the dissemination of information claiming that a group of jurists aggrieved with the Rumyantsev commission for having ignored their authority had met in an atmosphere of deep secrecy in the building of one of the old Moscow rayon executive committees. Headed by none other than Gavriil Popov and Anatoliy Sobchak, the mayors of Moscow and St. Petersburg. The aim of the meeting was to elaborate an alternative draft Russian Federation Constitution.

At first glance it looks as though they have been a bit slow off the mark... But who knows: Nobody knows which of the drafts will be the first to end up on President Yeltsin's desk. And, all the same, it is he who has the formal right to submit the constitution for ratification by the Congress. And he who has the final say about who is to be Russia's Madison and where Russia's Philadelphia is to be.

Rutskoy Urges Unity of Democratic Forces

LD1503162192 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 15 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yarmakova]

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—The Democratic Party of Russia and the People's Party of Free Russia decided to unite their efforts not to let the state system disintegrate, notwithstanding differences in their programmes, and considering the preservation of the Russian Federation's integrity as their main task.

Any party organization must work out its activity with a feeling of responsibility towards the fate of the country, the chairman of the People's Party of Free Russia, Aleksandr Rutskoy said in the conference. Addressing the participants in the March 17 meeting in Moscow, he appealed to all the people to think of the consequences of building up tension. The key to the solution of the country's problems, according to him, lies in the unity of democratic forces.

The leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, Nikolay Travkin said that both parties must approach the forthcoming congress of the Russian Federation's people's deputies with a united stand. Criticising the government, he emphasised, it needs support, and he has no intention of entering into a confrontation with the government.

The first vice prime minister of the Russian government, Yegor Gaydar, described the checking of the price rise as a sign of a "turn for the better". "One can adopt a softer policy", he said. He rejected the proposal to free the prices on oil, because it may lead to a manyfold rise of prices, although, according to him, it may act as an impulse to further inflation as well.

I always treat the people, who strive to unite, with respect, rather than run to extremes, Academician Aleksandr Yakovlev, who was present as a guest, told ITAR-TASS, when asked to comment during the conference. Talking of unification of different parties in their effort not to let Russia disintegrate, Yakovlev said, "this must be done, otherwise we will be ruined. We are destined to unite, so that all does not go to rack and ruin".

Signs Pact With Travkin

LD1603114592 Moscow TASS in English 1056 GMT 16 Mar 92

[TASS commentary by ITAR-TASS analyst Lyudmila Aleksandrova: "Public Conference in Moscow"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Time will show whether the Moscow Conference of Public Forces, held on Sunday [15 March], will turn into another loosely-knit bloc of political parties or herald the formation of a powerful party of "civilised statehood advocates". Today, it is clear that a notable regroupment of forces is now under way on the political arena of the Russian Federation: The leaders of two major and most closely-knit democratic parties—the Democratic Party of Russia (DPR) and the People's Party of Free Russia (PPFR)—have decided to cooperate on the basis of a common approach to the problem of Russia's national-state pattern.

Chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia, Nikolay Travkin, and leader of the People's Party of Free Russia, Rutskoy, have signed a protocol on cooperation. Its principles were approved by the conference. The two parties plan to merge their party apparatuses and to strengthen their local organisations. They have also decided to come out as one single front at the forthcoming Congress of People's Deputies of Russia, particularly during the discussion of the draft Russian constitution.

Representatives of both parties severely criticised during the conference the actions of various "chauvinistic nationalistic forces" and "quasi-patriots". Rutskoy denounced the ideology of the organisers of the recent congress of civil and patriotic forces. He was criticised for taking part in it even by the board of his own party. However, rutskoy did not rule out the possibility of "holding a roundtable with the rightists". Travkin said that the Democratic Party of Russia had broken off relations with its allies from the "People's Accord" bloc—the Russian Christian Democratic Movement and the Constitutional Democrats—after they first attended the congress and then took part in the February 23 meeting. The Democratic Party of Russia and the People's Party of Free Russia preferred to keep away from the "ultra-patriots" and radical democrats who, in their opinion, are trying to topple the Russian state.

It appears that the merging of "rabid" statehood advocates from the DPR with the more moderate People's Party of Free Russia will soften the approach of Travkin's party to several problems. For instance, the DPR political council had opposed but recently the "constitution's replacement by a federative treaty" (delimitation of powers between the centre and subjects of the federation), whereas now the conference documents contain no such statements. Rutskoy told a news conference here that the People's Party of Free Russia would "support the Federative Treaty by all means during the congress", although he said it called for certain amendments. The Chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia did not criticise the document. He only said that his party would "uphold the unity and indivisibility of Russia" during the congress.

Be what it may, the new political formation appears to be quite respectable so far. It cannot be ruled out that it may eventually become a bulwark of the Russian authorities in light of the ongoing disintegration of the democratic camp. Therefore it is indicative that the conference was attended by the Russian Vice President as well as by First Vice Premier of the Russian Government Yegor Gaydar. It is also indicative that most speakers, who had often criticised the government's economic policy, have now called for a more reasonable and constructive approach, for a "dialogue between the democratic government and the democratic parties".

Travkin expressed the view that a single party might be formed within 1-3 years from now. Will the former "Communists for Democracy", led by Aleksandr Rutskoy, and anti-communists from the Democratic Party of Russia be able to set up a single powerful party, rallied around the idea of reviving a "single and indivisible Russia"? It is apparently premature yet to speak about concrete prospects for such a merger.

Conservative Party Calls for Roundtable

LD1603111192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1314 GMT 15 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow [dateline as received]—Lev Ubozhko's conservative party issues a call for a broad national front, which would then form a coalition government of national trust.

The party's appeal to all political parties and movements in Russia, which was read out at the congress of Lev Ubozhko's conservative party, under way in Moscow, also said: Our ill society, having lost all trust, has now reached the dangerous line of giving up traditional forms of political life and launching a general war against everyone...In this context the party is calling...for an end to political confrontation between different forces within the Russian Federation, for uniting all forces aware of the fatal consequences a civil war might have, and for roundtable talks to work out a national salvation programme.

At the congress Lev Ubozhko, who heads the Conservative Party, delivered a report, in which, after speaking of his support in principle of a multi-party system, he accepted the possibility of a Chilean-type dictatorship, which could set in, but not after a bloody military putsch. Ubozhko also underscored that today power is not in the hands of democrats, but in the hands of communists, who changed their color. Boris Yeltsin's main weakness is that he cannot find a good team of assistants.

Zhirinovskiy Favors 2 to 4 Year Dictatorship

LD1603102992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1314 GMT 15 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow [dateline as received]—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy believes the crises cannot be overcome without a strong authoritarian order.

Addressing the congress of Lev Ubozhko's Conservative Party on March 14, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who heads the Liberal-Democratic Party of the Soviet Union, also said: We have to intimidate foreign countries into giving us money...We have to use the Army to help our state get the money to raise the economy from disarray. What we need is a strong army, and for that purpose we have to stop all conversion and begin arming ourselves. There are two sources to get money: A different foreign policy, or a different solution to the ethnic problem. The latter issue suggests a transition to a system of rule through governorships, without any division of the country according to ethnic principles. This system should be applied not only within Russian boundaries, but within the boundaries of the whole former Union. As for the Nagorno-Karabakh issue, Zhirinovskiy said that could have been settled in 72 hours.

Zhirinovskiy also spoke in support of a two to four year dictatorship. Judging by the history of, say, the Soviet Union, states are always formed in conditions of war and dictatorship. That means we have to choose: Either democracy, or a state...Boris Yeltsin's economic reforms are failing and will fail because he is trying to carry them out in white gloves: Through democratic methods....What we need is a one-party, one block, one leader dictatorship. If you don't want me to be such a leader, then you can take Makashiev. This can happen through a military coup, or via elections. Yeltsin cheated the people, since he never mentioned leading them to a disintegration of their country and to poverty. A dictatorship is the only condition for a large multi-ethnic state to survive in. What we...have to follow is not little Poland's example, but the example of China, which has chosen the right path to solve its economic problems. In China there is no democracy, but there is no famine either. Generally speaking, we should not look up to the United States or the West, we should look up to the East.

Criticizes Shevardnadze

OW1503234492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy who came Sunday [15 March] to Kolomna to meet with local residents had to speak for two hours standing on a table in the middle of the podium because the 600-seat hall was too small for over 2,000 people who came to listen to the leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP).

The audience was especially enthusiastic when he spoke about Russian pride and Russia's ancient borders trampled underfoot. Zhirinovskiy criticized Shevardnadze calling him "a sly Oriental fox". "He was deliberately breaking up the USSR as foreign minister and sold out Russian territories so that later, once president of a warm southern republic, he could receive Western credits and assistance for Georgia", the LDP leader said.

Republicans, Social Democrats View Privatization

PM1603141192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 92 First Edition p 2

[Report by Russian Federation People's Deputy G. Bondarev, coordinator of the parliamentary faction of the Republican Party of Russia and the Social Democratic Party of Russia, and Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Smirnov under the "Privatization" rubric: "Everyone Wants to Obtain Property. But Each One in His Own Way"]

[Text] The joint parliamentary faction of the Republican Party and the Social Democratic Party of Russia, together with the magazine OBSHCHESTVO I EKONOMIKA, has held a discussion of the government program for the privatization of state and municipal enterprises. Leaders of republic departments—A. Chubays, F. Tabeyev, and V. Chernogorodskiy—the parties' experts, scientists, and specialists advanced their views and assessments.

On behalf of the Republican Party A. Bogatov supported the government program.

The Republican Party is opposed to "making a gift" of property to absolutely all citizens. It advocates that only those who are capable of ensuring the efficient use of production capital and increasing the return on investments should become owners. In this connection criticism must be leveled at the point in the government program on the free allocation to labor collectives of privileged shares in part of an enterprise's incorporation capital. It seems preferable to advance credit to a new owner to mortgage privatized property.

The Social Democratic Party of Russia, in whose name Dr. of Economic Sciences Professor S. Dzarasov spoke, believes that there has been a delay over privatization.

but it must be begun regardless of the degree of preparedness. It will be possible to make adjustments as we go along.

The Social Democrats are opposed to wholesale nomenklatura privatization and favor democratic privatization. But there are very many loopholes for "wild" privatization in the program. For example, auctions and competitions could simply turn into a fiction if the interested persons make skillful preparations.

One of the most important tasks of privatization is to organize "paid" access to the means of production. For this it is possible to propose a special system of long-term credits.

The Social Democratic Party numbers among the program's shortcomings the fact that it is not really aimed at restructuring the economy in favor of the consumer sector. The aims of privatization have been narrowed down just to collecting funds for the sake of surmounting the budget deficit.

The Socialist Party of Working People (G. Rebrov) considers privatization an anticonstitutional measure and is insisting on holding a nationwide referendum on this question.

Workers Front Urges Free Expression

LD1403055692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1720 GMT 13 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow [dateline as received]—The United Workers Front (UWF) of Moscow called on the government and mayoralty to avoid collisions between law-enforcement agencies and the residents. A statement of the coordinating council of the UWF issued in connection with the events scheduled for March 17, also contains an appeal to the Moscow government not to stand in the way of the citizen's free expression of their will, to attempt no actions of the kind that led to the tragic events of February 23, and could only strengthen the confrontation and tension in the capital. The coordinating council called on public organizations and Muscovites to refrain from any force and retain self-possession, calm, orderliness, to ignore all provocations. It also called on law-enforcement agencies not to raise their hands and clubs against the working people who wish to exercise their right to a free expression of their will.

'Workers Russia' Movement Leader on Communism

OW1403012792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Interview with Viktor Anpilov, first secretary of the Moscow Bureau "Workers' Russia" movement, by INTERFAX correspondent Viktor Akimov; from "Nation and Society"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Another movement called "Workers' Russia" has emerged on the home political scene. The Russian Communist Workers' Party became its leader.

Corr.: When was your movement founded and how?

Victor Anpilov: It is the day of November 7 last year when over 100 thousand people gathered in Red Square that we consider the "Workers' Russia" movement's birthday. The movement has united such pro-communist organizations as the Russian Communist Workers' Party, United Workers' Front, Moscow Workers' Councils, the "Women for Socialism" movement, "Lenin and the Fatherland" society and Young Communist League (YCL). Their membership is not very big but the movement did take shape after all. The Communists' Union has joined us lately. We are hoping that other communist forces will follow suit. We need unity in our struggle for reforming the local governments—Soviets—and the central government in the interests of Russia's working class.

Our party's main objective now is to win the opportunity to express itself in the media. Political struggle is impossible without the freedom of speech. However, today we have nothing to do but to talk to people in the streets and to open stalls selling the Communist press. Such stalls have already opened in Leningrad, Rostov-on-the-Don and Krasnodar. Our main demand is to return society the right to work, to housing and to free medicare and education. We protest against dividing the national assets, because otherwise the state will fall into pieces. Those tiny fragments will constantly be at war with each other. Russia and Ukraine, whose peoples have been brothers for a long time already are.

Many regions have become involved into the workers' struggle for their rights. Over 15 thousand people gathered for a demonstration called by the "Workers' Russia" movement in Novosibirsk on February 9.

Corr.: Who are your main opponents?

V.A.: The "Democratic Russia" movement is often called our worst enemy, but that is a mistake. The main ones are foreign bankers and politicians. Both Gorbachev and Yeltsin have borrowed all their ideas from them. Mrs. Thatcher was one of their tutors. That lady repeated over and over again that real freedom is impossible without free enterprise. These days this is the slogan of the Russian Government.

Corr.: Whom are you ready to cooperate with?

V.A.: We are ready to cooperate with everyone who really comes out in defence of public ownership of land and means of production, for national dignity and against selling out our resources abroad.

Corr.: You haven't said a word of trade-unions. Does this mean they don't support the "Workers' Russia" movement?

V.A.: These so-called "independent" trade-unions promised the working people higher pay. But that is the deception of the people because the prices of some goods have soared 30 times over the recent years. Can any worker who was getting 500 roubles now demand a wage of 15 thousand roubles? The government will never print so much money.

And look how comfortable trade-union leaders live! They have luxurious apartments, go around in limousines and so on. They don't care about ordinary people. We assume that the trade-unions are all bribed. Besides, we are sure that struggle for economic rights is inalienable of political one. Every worker must be given right to take part in governing the country through the Soviets and to enjoy the fruits of one's work. If the trade-unions' ambiguous policy goes on distracting the working people from real struggle they will become our opponents.

We believe that society does not support reforms introduced by Gorbachev, a man who has driven the country to the collapse. Even now that we are being insulted in various ways and our values are being misrepresented, more and more of our supporters gather around our movement. People who came to Lenin's Mausoleum at night, marched in "hungry queues" going to the TV station in Ostankino, those who took part in the demonstration in Manezh Square on January 12—they all have broken the news black-out. Today we are waiting for fresh forces to come.

Corr.: The Communist Party ruled the country for a long time but now it is in opposition. What lessons have you learned?

V.A.: The basic one is that the party leaders must not be arrogant. All privileges must be eliminated. A party leader should be paid no more than a skilled worker. His or her incomes should be open to public scrutiny.

Corr.: What is your attitude to convening an emergency party conference?

V.A.: I am cautious about this. The preparations for the conference should be controlled by the party's rank-and-file. The previous General Secretary betrayed them. Ordinary communists must not let those people who have brought the country to the knees prevail. With only 20 thousand supporters in this country our party will not be the leading one in the near future. Later, as it expands cooperation with republican parties and communist movements it will play the decisive role in politics. The ideas of communism are engrained in the public mind. It is the renewed Communist Party that ordinary men and women will follow.

I am convinced that Russia will move back to restoring the Soviet peoples' friendship. Its flag will be red and its anthem and emblem will be those of the Soviet Union, a great country that is no more.

'Slavyanskiy Sobor' Group Registers

OW1303234292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1659 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The first patriotic organization "Slavyanskiy Sobor" was registered in the Russian Ministry of Justice. The basic purpose of the organization is to cultivate national awareness and renewal of spiritual life of the Slavic peoples as well as preserving the Slavic civilization.

"Slavyansky Sobor" was founded by the international fund "Rosskaya Sobornost" (Moscow), the all-Russian association of Russian literature and culture enthusiasts "Yedinenie" (Moscow), the Polish national society "the Polish National Party" (Warsaw), the Russian patriotic movement "Otechestvo" (St. Petersburg), "Slavyansky Soyuz" (Kiev), the national Russian orthodox union "White Russia" (Minsk), "Slavyansky Mir" (Vladimir), the Slavic community of Lithuania and Latvia and a number of Russian national organizations from various major Russian cities.

The organization's credo states "Sobor does not subscribe to communist or democratic ideas and feels that the social-state structure of Slavic countries must be based on the traditions of its people".

"Slavyansky Sobor" can be reached at 248-60-34, and 217- 60-78.

PRAVDA Profiles 'Generalissimo' Starovoytova

PM1603132192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 2

[Vladimir Bushin "Political Profile" article: "Generalissimo and Woman Pope"]

[Text] Is there anyone who has not heard of Galina Starovoytova?..

It is said that, when it comes the world's best-known women, she ranks just behind Nina Andreyeva. Indeed, go to any rally of democrats, or a meeting of anticommunists, or a gathering of Leninophobes, and you will hear her bewitching voice; tune in to any Central Television channel on any day of the week—maybe with the exception of "Animal Kingdom"—and you will see her charming smile; leaf through any anthology of speeches, delivered or undelivered at congresses of deputies and Supreme Soviet sessions, and you will relish the rare joys of her oratorical skills; pick up A. Sobchak's book "Coming to Power" [Khozhdeniye vo Vlast], and you will be unable to turn over the page with the delightful portrait published there...Name any famous woman's name you like, be it past or present, and I will unhesitatingly place Galina Vasilyevna's name next to it. Aspasia, Pericles' worthy wife?.. Pompeia, Caesar's irreproachable wife?.. That demonic woman who managed to become pope of Rome and went down in history as

Pope Joan?...Joan of Arc, who burned on the stake for her motherland's liberty?...Rozaliya Zemlyachka, merciless toward her enemies?... Lynn Cox, who swam across the Bering Strait?... Imelda Marcos, who faces 65 years in jail for being loyal to her husband?... Bella Kurkova, beloved daughter of the Russian people?.. Each one of them has some little thing in common with our indefatigable public figure. Indeed she is as much of a brain child and inalienable part of the Gorbachev-Yeltsin era as the Gaydarization of prices, the waiting lines for "Bush handouts," and the "boundless eroticism."

Despite her Homeric popularity, Galina Vasilyevna is rather shy. Do you recall the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies? She was the only deputy at that time who voted against the Congress address to the people of China in connection with the lamentable events there. One fellow-deputy said to her: "You live in Moscow, you were elected from Yerevan where you have never set foot before, why are you worried about China's problems?" She replied modestly and proudly: "We do not live in Moscow, we do not live in Yerevan or Tula, we live on Planet Earth." What could her fellow-deputy say to that? He shut up, of course.

Yes, Galina Vasilyevna is frighteningly modest and shy. She has never likened herself to either the Maid of Orleans or Bella Kurkova. Only once did she go as far as drawing a parallel between her fate and that of Svetlana Goryacheva. When this famous Russian deputy and her family were subjected to persecution because of her bold criticism of the republic's bosses, Starovoytova declared: "Indeed, my own family and my own boy are also under attack." With the only tiny difference that Goryacheva's son is really a boy—a 13-year old schoolboy. As for Galina Vasilyevna's son, Platosha, he is already traveling abroad without his mother and is successfully doing business in Shakespeare's motherland under the guidance of his dad, Mikhail Veniaminovich Borshchevskiy.

Starovoytova does not spare herself in countless deputy's labors for the fatherland's benefit, and works until she drops. "We deputies," she said once in an outbreak of frankness, relying of course primarily on her own experience, "do not belong to ourselves, we often sleep only three or four hours a day, and as a rule we work without days off." Indeed, she does not belong either to herself, or to her husband, or to her own mother, but only to the working people. As Parliamentary Ethics Committee Chairman A.A. Denisov said back in the past, it was only thanks to sacrificing her own life that she succeeded in joining the group of leaders in terms of the number of trips abroad which are absolutely necessary for our common benefit: During her first year as a deputy, Galina Vasilyevna visited 10 countries. This achievement is greater even than that by Poet-Deputy Yevtushenko, who has long been dubbed minister of his own foreign affairs: It is said that he visits maybe seven or eight countries on average each year, but certainly not 10. Figuratively speaking, Galina Vasilyevna has KO'd Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich or, to put it better, has outpaced him in the race.

Of course, there were some old-regime people who voiced doubts: Are these trips really necessary for the fatherland's benefit? Some newspapers carried articles to this effect. The conservatives were unwilling to understand that one of the reasons behind the countless trips is—among others—the fact that the traveling deputies, who do not belong to themselves, manage to catch up on sleep only in aircraft or trains. Therefore, they are not at all attracted to Poland or Czechoslovakia: You don't get a chance to even catnap if you fly there. But think how wonderful a trip from Moscow to New York or from Moscow to Tokyo can be. Actually, Poland can also be acceptable provided you travel by train and in a sleeper compartment. It offers an opportunity not only to snooze but even to put something down in writing.

Soon enough Starovoytova was appointed counselor of the Russian president for nationality problems. Of course, this was also prompted by the huge experience in interethnic contacts she had acquired on international travel by air and train, as well as when visiting parliaments and studying marketing in different countries.

Of course, Galina Vasilyevna's numerous written works played an important role when it came to her new appointment. She had proved herself to be a profound thinker, an astute diplomat, and an excellent stylist. One of her articles, for example, offers the epitome of delicacy, tactfulness, and downright femininity. Every now and then we get: "It seems to me that Aleksandr Isayevich [Solzhenitsyn]...", "It seems to me that as far as Aleksandr Isayevich is concerned...", "It seems to me that what Aleksandr Isayevich said..."

Here is what she has to say about her adversaries: "They have been driven into a corner. This is what could provoke their fierce resistance. After all, when a rat is driven into a corner, he becomes aggressive." Evidently, madam counselor has exceptional experience in rat-catching. But it is impossible to overlook the fact that the idea that those driven into a corner are especially aggressive and dangerous actually at the time of the new democracy's unprecedented successes is, alas, totally devoid of originality. This is nothing but using her own words to paraphrase and apply in today's situation I.V. Stalin's well known thesis about the exacerbation of class struggle at the time of socialism's unprecedented successes.

But take a look at "her own words" which are actually used! I dare say that neither she herself, nor her revered mother, nor her husband, nor her sonny-boy would like it very much if the counselor were also to be publicly dubbed a rat or, say, an otter [colloquial usage describing a thin and unattractive woman], a viper, or what have you. Yes, the counselor has blundered in terms of both content and form. It does seem, however, that a woman's ability to publicly let forth a stream of similar expressions about her adversaries is what Russia's bosses like best of all.

They probably also like the following: "A movement, which previously existed only in the West, has now emerged and is getting stronger with each passing day. What I mean is anticommunism. This word is no longer an insult, it stands for a real trend in social thinking." How profound! But, in the interests of completeness and clarity, it is necessary to mention two rather important circumstances.

First, Candidate of Historical Sciences Starovoytova is certainly aware that what she describes as a "trend in social thinking" blossomed in full and reached the zenith of its implementation (right up to Auschwitz and Dachau) in fascist Germany. So why does she keep silent about this? Why does she not use a graphic example to substantiate her postulate?

Second, it would be interesting to know whether the counselor for nationality problems intends to—at least theoretically—follow and surpass Hitler: Will she also apply the description of "a real trend in social thinking" to anti-Semitism, totally depriving this word of its insulting meaning as can be seen in, for example, Alfred Rosenberg's works? Does madam counselor intend to deny that anti-Semitism is also emerging and even gathering strength in America and Germany, for example? Is there anyone who is not aware that anticommunism and anti-Semitism are the two pillars of the fascist ideology?

Let us wait for answers to our questions. Meanwhile, let us remind our readers that this people's deputy—who likens her adversaries to rats, who perceives anticommunism as nothing more than a real trend in social thinking, who rejoices in the knowledge that the idea of anticommunism, targeted against millions and millions of our compatriots, is "acquiring the right to exist and be disseminated in our society" with the most active backing of the Russian bosses—is the deputy suing a journalist who dared to say that she is engaged in fanning enmity and instigation, the deputy who threatened another journalist with physical violence, the deputy who is also threatening to sue several newspapers.

Be that as it may, regardless of what questions we may ask and what accusations we may level, Starovoytova did become a presidential counselor. It could not have been otherwise! It is people like her that the Russian bosses actually need now. But is there any limit, is there any barrier that such an individual will not cross? It does not look like it....

The charming counselor reappeared on the country's television screens in the evening of 28 February. As always, she spoke most cleverly about the most complex problems. Suddenly the journalist interviewing her asked: "There are rumors about your supposed appointment as minister..." Of what?—I thought to myself. Maybe she will replace the charming Ella Pamfilova as minister of social protection? Or the grim Minister of Justice Nikolay Fedorov? Or the minister of health?... But the journalist went on, leaving me stunned: "...of defense. What could you say about this?"

Oh, the way Galina Vasilyevna smiled, got embarrassed, and blushed: Oh, come on now! Oh, is this possible, oh, the things people would say! Just like a 15-year old virgin who is suddenly propositioned: Oh, I am not yet old enough to hold my own ID card!

But the subsequent course of events showed that the question had not caught the counselor unawares. It appears that she had already made certain enquiries and found out that something along these lines actually exists in Finland: The defense minister is a charming woman. To sum up, this is roughly how Galina Vasilyevna ended the conversation on this topic: Fine, she said, if the people demand it, if the motherland calls, and if my mother Raisa Isaakovna has no objections, then... I have no objection and am ready.

Just imagine hearing the following on the radio in the morning of 9 May, Victory Day: "We broadcast an order by Defense Minister Starovoytova..." It will not surprise me if Galina Vasilyevna becomes a generalissimo of the CIS. The things that have happened in history: There was a time, I repeat, when a lady became pope of Rome.

Media & Journalism

Newspapers Face Cutbacks, Debt Problems

PRAVDA Needs 20 Million

LD1603185192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Summary] Aleksandr Ilyin, assistant editor in chief of PRAVDA, told a RIKA press agency correspondent that the newspaper needs 20 million rubles to pay off its debts to the publishing house for paper. Meanwhile, the editorial office will be engaged in preparing special issues on topical themes.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 'Suspended'

LD1603195592 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] The worst forecasts regarding the possibility of newspapers not appearing are being realized. Now the publication of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA has been temporarily suspended because of financial difficulties facing the Pressa publishing house. Its managers explain that it is failing to work profitably. The editorial office has sent funds to the publishing house for the publication of forthcoming editions, but while the money is being moved from one account to another, readers are left without a newspaper.

Journalists from the paper have asked TASS, radio, and television to inform subscribers of this enforced pause. They hope to resume publication of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA within the next few days.

'Sharp Decrease' in Komsomol Paper

LD1603224492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA—a very popular newspaper in the former USSR—will come out with a circulation of 13 million copies for the last time on 17 March. The leadership of the publication is explaining this by a rise in the cost of paper, printing and communications. Now the paper will only be able to survive with a sharp decrease in its circulation—approximately down to 1 to 1.5 million copies.

IZVESTIYA's Losses Viewed

PM1303114992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Report from the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, ITAR-TASS roundup: "IZVESTIYA Is 75, But Not Aging"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, Aleksandr Rutskoy, Ruslan Khasbulatov, and Mikhail Poltoranin were invited as "friends" to a ceremony marking IZVESTIYA's 75th anniversary. Chief Editor Igor Golembiovskiy thereby refuted rumors about attempts to run the newspaper from the White House or the Russian Government. "We will simply not accept any government subsidies," he stated, explaining that the funds allocated to help the press in accordance with the Russian presidential decree should not go to specific publications but be used to maintain stable prices for paper, newspaper and magazine distribution, and the system of tax concessions. The IZVESTIYA staff believe in self-reliance. And although the losses from subscriptions at last year's prices are nearing 400 million [rubles], the journalists intend to "earn their keep solely from mainstream news reporting" and remain true to the traditions of the democratic press.

Commentary Criticizes Opposition Newspaper

LD1403230392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Nikolay Svanidze commentary; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Exactly four years ago—on 13 March 1988—Nina Aleksandrovna Andreyeva wrote a letter headlined: I Cannot Give Up My Principles. The letter immediately became a classic when it was published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. Four years have passed. Today, Andreyeva is not the only opposition ideologist. There are others. They have their own paper, which you can buy in any Moscow Metro passageway:

[Svanidze, reading from a newspaper] The temporary, occupationist government of Yeltsin and Burbulis; IZVESTIYA is a pulsating womb of Zionism; and here is some poetry: Stanislav Kunyayev compares members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency to the Decembrists, the latter having Aleksandr Pushkin, who stood between the hostile camps, while we have Aleksandr Nevzorov and Aleksandr Prokhanov.

I have in my hands the latest edition of DEN [THE DAY] newspaper.

As we can see, the style is strong, with the very typical smell of cocktails from good-old Goebbels-like leading articles and cheap pornographic brochures. Although the newspaper's editorial collegium contains, apart from Kunyayev and the two Pushkins—Prokhanov and Nevzorov—and the really talented and formerly excellent Rasputin, they write to please not the purest instincts of the most deprived—therefore, the least exacting—section of society, on whose shoulders they wish to enter the lost nomenklatura paradise. Power is the only aim of these people, who call themselves patriots.

Copying the tactics and slogans of the Nazi party-like students, they present as Russian patriotism zoological hatred for all people who are not of Russian blood and for their political enemies whom they equate with aliens. It is not clear how Stalin can be their idol when he somehow managed to be born a Georgian. However, let us suppose that he expiated this sin with blood by killing a record number of his fellow countrymen. What about the Russian tsars who were pure Germans, never mind the secular tsars? When the king of heaven—our Lord Jesus Christ—was, as is made clear in the Bible...[changes thought] Well, it is terrible to say what nationality since the savior also risks joining the list of enemies of the Russian people.

The inveterate patriots encourage themselves with the words: Chauvinist Russia, Do Not Grieve and Do Not Fear. However, there is no chauvinist Russia, just as there was no Communist Russia. There is just a gaggle of people who are striving for power and who have linked themselves with the partocrats and those nationalists inclined toward pogroms.

They have already begun intense preparations for the 17 March rally, and they are dangerous. They are dangerous for their lack of moral barriers and their lack of positive program. They are patriots, and that is all there is to it. While some people, stumbling and erring, try to drag the country out of the abyss, others—those who got the country into that state—give the impression of innocence and selflessly engage in patriotism. That would be okay, but this occupation, as shown not only by Germany's experience, is infectious and harmful to the country. [video shows Svanidze reading from DEN; picture on DEN's front page overlaid with video clips of Nazi rallies, Russian right-wing rallies, Stalin rallies and victims, and icons]

Supreme Soviet

Yeltsin To Attend Federative Treaty Ceremony

LD1703015692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2230 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] The federal treaty initialled on 13 March in Moscow by the leaders of Russia and republics within

the Russian Federation will be signed in the Kremlin in a ceremononial situation. Taking part in the signing ceremony will be Russian President Boris Yeltsin. This was announced on 16 March by Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov at a presidium session. He expressed satisfaction with the positions that the representatives of the republics took regarding this matter. The initialling of the treaty, said Ruslan Khasbulatov, is a breakthrough in achieving harmony in the sphere of developing relations. The Russian parliament head called upon deputies, all political factions in the Supreme Soviet, and the political forces of Russia to support the federal treaty.

Khasbulatov, Republics on Demarcation of Powers

LD1303122192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, the parliament chairman, met with leaders of the republics who comprise the Russian Federation in the White House today. As Sergey Filatov, his first deputy, told deputies at the morning's joint session, this meeting with the parliamentary chairman would last the whole day. He did not specify what it was about, but an ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned that the main subject under discussion is the demarcation of powers between the state powers of Russia and the powers of the republics within the federation.

Khasbulatov Wants 'Balanced' Tatarstan Decision

LD1603134192 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow March 16—Head of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov expressed hope that Kazakhstan's parliament will assume a balanced decision regarding a referendum planned to be held in the republic. Opening a planned meeting of the Presidium of the Russian parliament on Monday [16 March], Khasbulatov spoke of his numerous meetings in Moscow with Tatarstan's president and with the head of Tatarstan's parliament.

Khasbulatov said Tatarstan's leaders had emphasised that the people of the republic did not think of withdrawing from the Russian Federation. "I urged leaders of Tatarstan to show respect for the opinion of our parliament and for the decision of the constitutional court", he said. Russia's constitutional court last Friday [13 March] decided that the holding of the referendum on the question of Tatarstan's state sovereignty is unlawful.

Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the Russian parliament Ramazan Abdulatipov will participate in a session of Tatarstan's parliament which is to discuss a situation with the referendum.

Supreme Soviet Highlights for 13 Mar

LD1403011192

Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1825 GMT on 13 March carries a 32-minute edition of its regularly scheduled "At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet" program, including recorded highlights of the Russian Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 13 March.

An unidentified correspondent opens the program by reporting that deputies discussed the work of investigative bodies during the session, adding that Oleg Boyko was elected deputy chairman of Russia's Supreme Arbitration Court.

At 1830 GMT, Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, shown chairing the session, asks Mikhail Mityukov, deputy chairman of the constitutional commission, to introduce amendments to Russia's criminal code, noting that the amendments intend to strengthen antimonopoly legislation. Mityukov reviews the work of a commission which has been discussing the subject.

At 1833 GMT, deputies vote on and pass the amendments 83 to 0; the law as a whole is then voted on and passed 167 to 0.

Mityukov then dicusses the concept of judicial reform. Many simple cases can be settled without the need for people's assessors, he says, adding that the same applies to some more serious cases and most civil cases. Such cases can be handled by a judge alone, Mityukov says, pointing out that provision for this is made in the legislation being submitted to the Supreme Soviet. The law will make the judiciary more effective if adopted, he concludes.

At 1840 GMT, Supreme Court Chairman Lebedev takes the floor to stress that the law is essential and that it has the backing of judges. He concludes by urging the deputies to accept the law.

At 1841 GMT, Prosecutor General Valentin Stepankov urges that the bill be approved but notes that the stage of committal proceedings should not be bypassed under the new legislation or else human rights will be violated. The relevant paragraph should be omitted, he says, adding that committal proceedings are very important and should remain.

At 1844 GMT, deputies vote on and pass the law 85 to 0.

Mityukov continues speaking about amendments to the Russian criminal code and discussions on this subject in the committee on legislation. The law on arrest and detention must be reformed, he stresses, adding that all detainees have the right to trial under international law. Mityukov refers to the right of habeas corpus enshrined in Anglo-Saxon law as video shows Deputy Baburin yawning. Mityukov then spells out the right of appeal and goes into details of the new law. Detainees have a

right to speak to their lawyer, he notes. Mityukov then calls for the law to be passed on the first reading.

At 1851 GMT, Baburin takes the floor to praise the bill but notes that there are some editorial imperfections in the wording. It will protect citizens against illegal and arbitrary arrest, he concludes.

Justice Minister Fedorov then takes the floor to say the bill must be implemented.

At 1853 GMT, deputies vote on and pass the bill 82 to 2 in one chamber and 78 to 3 in the other chamber.

Filatov then announces that the Russian Federation Treaty was initialled by all of the Russian Federation republics except Tatarstan and Chechen and congratulates deputies.

At 1854 GMT, General Pyankov delivers a statement on the military situation in the Caucasus and the withdrawal of CIS troops.

Deputies then adopt a decision to take note of the statement before Filatov suggests the formation of a deputies' group to hear reports from the CIS command.

At 1857 GMT, the program ends.

Factions Discuss Rival Constitution Sections

PM1303114592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Parliamentary Observer Aleksandr Linkov report under the rubric "The Road to the Sixth Congress": "It Will Not Be Calm"]

[Text] The parliamentary opposition in the shape of the "Communists of Russia," "Fatherland," and "Agrarian Union" factions have already spoken of the need to examine rival drafts for the constitution. Yesterday representatives of the "Smena-New Policy" faction expressed their viewpoint, presenting the draft they have prepared. But not a draft of the entire constitution, only Section 5. Let us remind you that this section is devoted to organs of power. According to faction coordinator Andrey Golovin, this section of the Fundamental Law is even more important than Section 4, currently the subject of many disputes.

The faction members are convinced that it is now necessary to adopt the constitution a section at a time: If it is to be adopted as a whole, almost 70 percent of it is not backed up by the necessary laws.

The presentation of Section 5 of the Russian Federation Constitution is yet another example that the discussion of one of the main questions for the sixth congress of people's deputies will not be calm.

Parliament To Audit Central Bank's Activities

LD1603232392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1846 GMT 16 Mar 92

[From the "Business News" section]

[Text] Moscow —On March 16, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation formed a commission to audit activities of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation. Under a resolution by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, a Russian Federation commission of the Council of the Republic on Budget, Planning, Taxes and Prices is authorized to determine an auditing firm for the inspection to be approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. The remuneration procedure is to be developed jointly by the Central Bank of the Russian Federation and the government of the Russian Federation.

Alexander Pochinok, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Budget, Planning, Taxes and Prices, stressed in his letter attached to the resolution that the commission addressed six international auditing firms that have representative offices in Moscow to take part in the audit. According to the letter, the commission has chosen two of the above-mentioned firms whose names are not disclosed.

New Tax Regulations For Enterprises Considered

LD1603231992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1846 GMT 16 Mar 92

[From the "Business News" section]

[Text]Moscow —Tax benefits are likely to be preserved for enterprises with foreign investments. On March 16, the presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet discussed a draft resolution on draft resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on application of the laws of the Russian Federation on profit tax of enterprises and organizations and on income tax of enterprises with respect to enterprises with foreign investments.

Under the draft, enterprises with foreign investments engaged in production and registered in the established order till January 1 this year will preserve income tax benefits within the established period (2 years) according to the existing legislation, stipulated by the laws of the Russian Federation on profit tax of enterprises and organizations and on income tax of enterprises. The presidium of the Russian Federation decided to submit the draft for the consideration of the president of the Russian Federation.

Regional Affairs

Tatarstan Referendum To Keep 'Original Form'

OW1703061792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1917 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a session of the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan Monday [16 March] it was decided that the March 21 referendum on sovereignty will proceed in its original form.

The resolution says that "the purpose of the referendum is to confirm the declaration of sovereignty of Tatarstan". The questions of political isolation from the Russian Federation and changing Tatarstan's territory and borders are not included in the referendum. Kazan feels this clarification removes the question of Tatarstan's separation from the Russian Federation.

Tatarstan supports reforming relations with the Russian Federation based on an agreement on the delegation of powers, and guarantees the equality of all citizens of the republic, and observance of civil rights.

The Republic of Tatarstan ensures dual citizenship, two official languages, Russian and Tatar, and preservation and development of the languages and culture of other ethnic groups on its territory.

Last Friday [13 March] the Constitutional Court of Russia recognized the decision of the Tatar parliament to hold the referendum which contradicts the Fundamental Law of the Russian Federation in referring to Tatarstan as a subject of international relations separate from the Russian Federation.

Will 'Achieve Accord'

LD1603191892 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alexey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Kazan March 16 TASS—Tatarstan lawmakers and the president today denied that a republican-wide referendum, scheduled for March 21, aims to facilitate the region's secession from Russia.

"Questions of state separation from the Russian Federation, changing its territorial integrity and borders are not a subject of the referendum held in the republic," the parliament said in a resolution, passed today.

In turn, President Mintimer Shaymiyev, speaking in the legislature stressed that the referendum should not lead to violating Russia's integrity.

"A positive answer during the referendum will bring calm and peace to the republic and will help us achieve accord," Shaymiyev said.

The vote offers a chance to strengthen friendship between people in the republic, he said.

Could 'Provoke A Chain Reaction'

LD1303115592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 0950 GMT 13 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Kazan—Fikryat Tabeyev, chairman of the Russian Federal Property Fund has described the March 21 referendum in Tatarstan as an issue of national limitation. In an interview with VECHERNYAYA KAZAN, published on March 11, Tabeyev ex-first secretary of Tatar CPSU regional committee, said that the situation in Tatarstan had been directly influenced by the idea of sovereignization, which is resulted in the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

According to Tabeyev, if Tatarstan breaks away from Russia, this will provoke a chain reaction, which will break up Russia and can result in an unprecedented upsurge of Russian fascism.

Tabeyev points out that these processes were bound to come out to the surface, but pretty soon everybody will realize that this is not the right path to take Tatar deserters to complete service in Volga Military District Kazan. Army deserters who were drafted in the Republic of Tatarstan will complete their terms of conscription in Army units in the Volga Military District. This was announced by Tatarstan's President Mintimer Shaymiyev at a meeting with representatives of the republic's Pestrechenskiy District. He said that corresponding agreement had been reached with Tatarstan's military commissar Ivan Stogniev. In 1992, 282 conscripts recruited in Tatarstan deserted their military units located in other CIS states. Some of them defected because they did not want to swear allegiance to the governments and presidents of other states. and some of them fled because of bullying and harassment by officers and sergeants.

In Kazan, a council was set up to protect the Army servicemen and draftees, including parents and soldiers themselves, as well as representatives of the public. The committee is aiming to ensure that the deserters be allowed to complete their military service in Tatarstan.

Decentralization Viewed

OW1403003292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Interview with Zilya Valeyeva, first vice chairman of the parliament of the Republic of Tatarstan, by unidentified correspondent; from "Nation and Society"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Corr: Soon a referendum on secession from the Russian Federation will be held in Tatarstan. The parliament, however, has rejected the wording of the question, proposed by a group of deputies. Moreover, the official leaders emphasize that Tatarstan does not intend to quit Russia. What do they mean?

Zilya Valeyeva: Exactly what the wording says: Tatarstan is a sovereign state and a subject of international law. Its relations with the Russian Federation are based on nothing else but equitable agreements. Even the current constitution of the Russian Federation refers to Tatarstan as a state. I don't understand why some view

the statement of this fact as blasphemy. True democrats should be shocked by the absence of real statehood in the former autonomous republics, not by the latter's advancement towards it. Although formally we were a republic, we had neither laws, nor property, nor a budget, nor international contacts of our own. In fact, the autonomous republics were a mere decoration of the prosperous command-and-administer system and of its absolute ruler—the Center, something a civilized society would be ashamed of. All this caused a crisis in the national, cultural and social development of the former autonomous entities.

I'm convinced that Russia will fail to implement the reforms if power is not decentralized. If the Russian Federation's goal is to become the Soviet Union's successor and to retain the functions of a tough center, the reforms will definitely fail. As to the terminology—in or outside the federation—it's a stereotype which is becoming a thing of the past. We are building a new state set up and model of interstate relations. Today, everybody is being alerted to the prospect of Tatarstan's secession. But in fact, we aspire for a strong union with Russia and broader economic, cultural and scientific contacts which will benefit both of us. What is meant here is the republic's self-determination for the only purpose of striking a union with Russia and other states. There hasn't been a document of this kind before, so all we want to do now is to put our relations on a legal footing. Negotiations will reveal who assumes which responsibilities and powers.

Corr.: I understand, the leaders of Tatarstan do not intend to create an independent state with all of the generally-accepted attributes.

Z.V.: Not exactly. The creation of such a state has just begun. Tatarstan was referred to as a state even before it proclaimed its state independence. This status is affirmed in the current constitution of the Russian Federation which defines as a state all of the autonomous entities which have the minimal rights and powers, and which have ratified the federal laws. But our laws differ so much from international, that one may really get confused if one starts applying international standards.

Corr.: Tatarstan claims to be a subject of international law, doesn't it?

Z.V.: Today, not only independent states, but also subjects of a federation may become subjects of the international law. Tatarstan therefore not only wishes to have its own economic contacts, but also to guarantee the implementation of all contracts and agreements in its territory.

Corr.: Some reproach the leaders of Tatarstan for yielding to the pressure of the national-radicals, who are campaigning for the republic's independence. Is it really so? If it's not, what's the difference in the positions?

Z.V.: To some extent, one can understand why the positions of the radicals and of the Tatarstan leaders have much in common. The problem of enhancing the status of Tatarstan arose even before the adoption of the declaration of independence, and not after, as many think. This problem was raised in 1920 and in 1936, when the Constitution was adopted, but was not solved. So, the radical-minded section of the national movement is guided by specific historical events.

Now what's the difference in our positions? First, the radicals have advanced the idea of creating an independent national state of Tatarstan, which goes cardinally against the course of the leadership and parliament. A republic with a bi-national population may only have a supra-national status. Besides that, Tatarstan cannot isolate itself from Russia without passing part of its powers to it. The official policy is based on the idea of enhancing Tatarstan's state status on the basis of specific procedures. Although the Union has broken up into several sovereign republics, the problem of enhancing the status of the former autonomous republics is still there and needs to be solved. The current pause was caused by a re-evaluation of values, and not by any rejection of the old plans.

Corr.: Do the national-radicals draw strong social support?

Z.V.: Yes, they do, and this support is growing. I explain this not only by the fact that their ideas are shared by many, but also by a certain slowing down of the process. Russia has proved unprepared for it, too. As a result, many people turned to the radicals. While some politicians were absorbed in analysis and search for a way out, others acted, and did so more consistently and resolutely, defending the rights of the republic. But this is only an illusion. In actual fact, sharp and unilateral steps, and disregard for the consequences, could only undermine the efforts to attain sovereignty.

Corr.: The national-radicals have always been inspired by the Baltic republics and by Georgia and Moldova, where representatives of the national movements have come to power. May the same happen in Tatarstan?

Z.V.: Yes, it may, if the result of the referendum is negative. The parliament of Tatarstan will suffer a defeat then, but nothing can guarantee that a new parliament will observe the balance of interests. So far, the parliament manages to stick to the golden mean.

Corr.: What in your opinion might the Russian leaders' attitude to the referendum be?

Z.V.: It's difficult to say. They may choose to find faults with the wording. But they have no reasons to object to the idea itself, because they themselves urged us to hold a referendum. The federal authorities should understand that the referendum is not an extremist move in relation to Russia. Tatarstan is trying to be helpful in building a

new federation on a different basis. We are overly suspicious of each other and sometimes provoke tough moves without any reason.

Divergent Views Persist on Tatar Statehood

924C0887A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Article by ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent Dmitriy Mikhaylin: "Referendum in Tatarstan: Opinions Polarized"]

[Text] Kazan—The problem of conducting a referendum in Tatarstan on the state status of the republic overshadowed even the debates on the adoption of the new constitution. As was to be expected, the positions of the various political forces on this question differ sharply.

The leadership of the republic in the person of the president and the leadership of the Supreme Soviet and the Cabinet of Ministers took an unambiguous position. Here is what Mintimer Shaymiyev, the president of Tatarstan, said at a recently held news conference:

"I have never talked anywhere about secession or nonsecession from the Russian Federation. An act of independence is more of a political than a legal act. Sovereignty either exists or it does not.

"The Russian leadership may pretend that nothing has happened in the former autonomies, but the processes in the localities will not stop as a result of this. If the declaration on the state sovereignty of Tatarstan was recognized, there would be no need for a referendum. What should the people do, if the decisions of the Supreme Soviet are inadequate?

"The referendum will take place, I hope, normally, and soon the Supreme Soviet should come out with a statement on union with Russia—on conditions of recognition of our sovereignty.

"Russia was able to defend its sovereignty. But there should be the very same respectful attitude toward the sovereignty of autonomies as well. We cannot agree with the draft Constitution of Russia. Not one Supreme Soviet accepts it for the reason that the national-state formations will not have an identity. For this very reason it is impossible to adopt the document on the distribution of powers among the republics and the Russian center that we received from Moscow.

"This is not a whim, it is a process that is impossible to ignore. This process must be recognized and treated respectfully."

The fire of political passions burned even brighter after the Appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation to the People, the Parliament, and the President of Tatarstan.

In his radio speech of 7 March, Prime Minister of Tatarstan Mukhammat Sabirov assessed it as not contributing to peace in the republic.

With respect to the appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, the session of the milli-majlis (national parliament) and the Tatar Public Center, which is not part of it, adopted statements the other day. The appeal is assessed (we will quote excerpts from the statement of the Tatar Public Center) as "gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign Tatarstan and an attempt to stir up interethnic hostility in the republic; a continuation of the imperial policy of Russia...."

However, the leadership of the republic and the national movement have many opponents.

Ildus Sultanov, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tatarstan:

"Now, a free independent Tatarstan and, accordingly, the answer 'yes' to a referendum are associated among many with a guarantee of the development of the Tatar language and culture and the revival of the nation...This is not the case. This referendum and the striving for independence have absolutely no relationship to either the Tatars or the Russians, or any other nations. It has to do with only who will be in power. By voting 'for,' we will be voting for those people who brought us to "the victory of developed socialism," who have now switched from party chairs to governmental chairs and replaced the red flag with the green-white-and-red flag, with which they are leading the people to new victories.

"The answer 'yes' is dangerous because there are very strong tendencies toward totalitarianism in the republic. There is evidence of depriving the local soviets of power: The heads of administration here fulfill several functions that are different from other regions; there is also evidence of active and not always public interference by the president in the work of the Supreme Soviet. We cannot make decisions now that are not advantageous to Shaymiyev. Under conditions of the inaction of Russian laws and the absence of our own, the law enforcement organs are compelled to implement the instructions of the president. There are no democratic structures in the republic. By leaving Russia, we will have no guarantee that what we establish will turn out to be a blessing for us. And what is most dangerous is that we are not even seeing any shift toward democracy."

Aleksandr Salagayev, deputy of the Kazan City Soviet of People's Deputies and chairman of the coordinating committee of the "Citizens of the Russian Federation" movement:

"Two nations, two absolutely different languages, two religions, and two cultures have existed on this territory for more than four centuries. This is a unique case. But recently the leadership of the republic has taken a course toward the creation of a ethnocratic Tatar state. Priority is given to one nation—in culture, religion, and education...Cases of offenses against the Russian-speaking

population on the part of representatives of the Tatar national movement are not being stopped, and persons who are stirring up national discord are not being called to account. The leadership of the republic does not even observe the Declaration on the Sovereignty of Tatarstan, let alone the Declaration on Human Rights. Such a policy, naturally, cannot lead to harmony.

"I am confident that Russians who live in Tatarstan will answer 'No' to the referendum, because otherwise, i.e., in the event of secession from Russia, they will be deprived of all guarantees that their legal rights will be observed. I think that for one reason or another, many sensible Tatars will vote 'against.'"

Ivan Grachev, deputy of the Republic of Tatarstan Supreme Soviet:

"The leadership of the republic has taken an ambiguous position. It is said in the statements of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the speeches of the president and the prime minister that Tatarstan will not secede from Russia geographically, economically, or politically. This is a simple fogging of people's minds. Because the main thing now is legal secession. This is exactly what the leadership is striving for and, therefore, it is deceiving the people...."

A rally was held in Kazan on 7 March which was organized by the "Citizens of the Russian Federation" movement under the slogan "Russia can do without us, but we cannot do without Russia." A resolution was adopted in support of the Appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation to the People, the Supreme Soviet, and the President of Tatarstan, and it contained an appeal to the leadership of Russia to conduct a well-reasoned, firm, and consistent policy in defending the state interests of the Russian Federation and all peoples who live in the republic, and to support guarantees of the rights of each citizen of the Russian Federation.

The rally was attended by Lev Ponomarev, cochairman of the Democratic Russia movement and deputy of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. This is what he said: "I think that the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation acted absolutely properly in filing a petition with the Constitutional Court on verification of the constitutionality of the corresponding resolution of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

"I am almost convinced that the Constitutional Court will corroborate the illegality of such a formulation, because there is a direct contradiction here to the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

"Now, a conscious vote of the people of Tatarstan on the referendum is very important."

On 7 March a conference was held in Kazan University of democrats of the republic and their Moscow colleagues—the leadership of Democratic Russia and the Democratic Party of Russia. One question was discussed for several consecutive hours—how best to conduct the prereferendum campaign. The local department of the Democratic Party of Russia and the "Druzhba" [Friendship] Women's Committee have already released leaflets explaining the question that is being raised by the referendum. But they are inferior in quality and in number to the placards and brochures issued by order of the leadership of the republic. It is planned to conduct two more rallies on 14 and 15 March. A committee was established to conduct a referendum in the local department of the Democratic Party of Russia.

It is strange, but particular activity on the part of the national movement is not visible: There are not even the usual rallies. The most odious personalities—Fauziya Bayramova, the leader of the party Ittifak; Mardzhani Zaki Zaynulin, president of the society; Talgat Abdulin, chairman of the milli-majlis, and others are not showing up in the political arena at present. Are they gathering their forces, or are they confident of the outcome of the referendum? Time will tell....

Tatarstan Prepares Law on Citizenship

OW1303195092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1659 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The permanent commissions of the Tatar parliament are preparing a draft of a law on citizenship. The legislative commission plans to insist that the draft be amended until an agreement is signed with Russia recognizing dual citizenship of Tatars.

The draft says that all individuals permanently residing in the republic when the law on citizenship takes effect will automatically be given citizenship. All those who lived in the Republic in the past and left upon establishment of the Republic of Tatarstan, that is from May 27, 1920, or those who have come to the Republic to live have the right to become citizens.

Others seeking citizenship must live in the Republic for five years and speak one of Tatarstan's official languages, Russian or Tatar.

Tatarstan Political Situation, Parties Viewed

924C0893A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA's Alyans Sabirov and Vyacheslav Shchepotkin: "Tatarstan: A Time of Difficult Dialog"]

[Text] **A Rainbow on Flags, a Rainbow in Thoughts**

Today over the Kazan Kremlin, which houses the residence of the president of the Republic of Tatarstan, and also over many other official buildings, flies a tricolor—red, white, and green—flag. But one cannot say that these are the only colors on the political map. Although in Tatarstan, this is not by the will of the masses of

people but by a decision of the authorities, since no elections were conducted for the president of Russia, nonetheless the idea of solidarity with the Federation, even given their own sovereignty, is shared by many. So at rallies and demonstrations the red and white Russian flag frequently flies alongside the flag of Tatarstan. And there are also red banners, and black and green ones...

The rainbow of flags reflects the rainbow of political aspirations. In Tatarstan today there are about 40 political parties and movements. True, the majority of them are microscopically small, sometimes with only two or three dozen members. Moreover, the ideological spectrum is broad—from one extreme to the other. Nonetheless, a certain grouping of forces can be perceived. There is, for example, the group of parties that are oriented toward the national and religious idea. The most visible one here is the Ittifak National Rebirth Party.

Operating along with this is a bloc of parties whose names betray their democratic orientation. The most noticeable in this wing is the well known Democratic Party of Russia.

Additionally, there is a group of parties whose programs have various nuances but the same banner: red. They are the products of the collapse of the CPSU: the People's Party of Free Russia, the Organization of Communists of the Republic of Tatarstan, and others.

Now about the alignment of forces in the parliament. It is important to know this, if only because constitutional decisions are made here, not on the street.

The parliament today consists essentially of three large factions. We were told that one of them is oriented toward the president. True, it has neither an organizational form nor even a name, and it manifests itself only in the results of the voting, supporting the president. And there are two other factions: "Soglasiye" [Harmony] and "Tatarstan" operate officially and they have an appreciable influence on the work of the parliament.

Who Needs People Who Are Sheep?

The Soglasiye faction was formed around the Narodovlastiye [People's Power] deputy group, which has followed a course toward radical reform in the parliament from the very beginning.

The Tatarstan faction was based on the Nezavisimost [Independence] group, whose members are in favor of immediate and complete sovereignty.

Even the very names of the factions and their orientation could suggest the incompatibility of their positions. But Fandas Safiullin, a member of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and of the Tatarstan deputy faction, is of a different opinion.

"When we sit down together and begin to clarify our relations, it turns out that many of our positions converge, especially on economic issues. But we are alarmed by the divergences that are beginning to appear according to the national indicator. Soglasiye includes mainly Russian-speaking deputies. Tatarstan is mainly Tatars. Although there are relatively few deputies in each faction, they can block each other's work."

"What was the reason for the split?"

"The negative events around the Supreme Soviet in October of last year were the immediate cause. The fact is that in the national movement there are forces operating according to the principle of the popular song: No, no, I want it today; no, no, I want it now.

"At that time several hundred people began to demand the immediate proclamation of the state independence of Tatarstan and its withdrawal from Russia.

"These events did not fail to leave their mark. There was a split in the Supreme Soviet. True, things have begun to smooth out recently. Thank God, this interethnic strife is still superficial here and affects the upper stratum, mainly the intelligentsia, but not the ordinary people. They have not succeeded in 'turning the people into sheep,' although some people have something to gain from a conflict between the two largest peoples in the republic."

We heard much the same thing from representatives of the Soglasiye bloc: Zinnur Latypov, Ivan Grachev, Aleksandr Stanin, and other deputies. They too are disturbed by the disagreements "stirred up" on national grounds. They have the same estimation of the role of the press in all of these processes, a considerable share of which, as Z. Latypov stated, "have a nationalist slant," with which all deputies present at the meeting agreed: Tatars, Russians, and Kazakhs.

So there are many deputies with similar positions in the two factions.

But there are also serious differences. Especially regarding sovereignty.

To Be or Not To Be in Russia?

"With this president and this composition of the parliament Tatarstan cannot achieve full independence...In order to carry out what we have conceived and solve all of our problems we need our own national parliament, a majlis, and we need our own national state. And we need them today" (From an article by F. Bayramova—leader of the Ittifak Party).

Fauzia Bayramova—a little known writer writing in the Tatar language, chairman of the Ittifak National Rebirth Party, people's deputy of Tatarstan. The party occupies the extreme nationalist wing of the Tatar Social Center.

Tatar Social Center (TOTs). Created in February 1989. Today it has branches in almost 100 cities of the Commonwealth. TOTs includes both cultural-educational and political organizations.

"From the first day two wings appeared in TOTs," says Rafail Khakimov. "The radical one, which focuses on national sovereignty, and the more moderate one, which defends state sovereignty."

R. Khakimov—one of the founders of TOTs and its ideologue from the first day onward. Candidate of philosophical sciences. Currently a member of the State Council of the republic, presidential adviser.

"The radical wing which has been transformed into the Ittifak Party sees Tatarstan as a national state, a Tatar one. It is oriented more toward rallies and political pressure, while the moderate wing is oriented toward parliamentary methods. Not only Russians but also many Tatars are critical of Fauziya Bayramova."

Listening to him, we recalled F. Safiullin: "In the words of Bayramova herself, she has about 600 followers in the republic. But her name causes a lot of stir."

Yes, a lot of stir, and it elevates the political temperature. When voices for the immediate withdrawal of Tatarstan from Russia and the creation of an independent national state ring out among the national radicals, tension increases immediately. And could it be any other way when 48 percent of the people in the republic are Tatar and 43 percent of the remainder are Russians? It is not surprising that sharp criticism comes immediately from the other side.

The struggle concerning the main issue sometimes proceeds with bitter attacks, and that merely increases interethnic tension. So they have finally started to use the legal means envisioned by the constitution when reining in the extremes. Criminal cases have been brought, including for individual articles in the press. The republic procuracy has warned politicians that they must solve problems without breaking the laws and their activity must be based on the republic constitution.

This would seem to be an appropriate warning for all kinds of radicals, for it is not some foreign experience but our own that shows what kinds of bloody events political extremism can lead to. For people are already speaking out about the creation of a Muslim theocratic state in the Volga region, and at the recent all-Tatar Kurultay (congress) there were demands to create a national majlis and turn all power over to it, which evoked sharp protests in the parliament, even from representatives of the "Tatarstan" faction.

Why Did the Kurultay Convene?

In addition to general problems, the Tatars, like many other peoples, have their own specific ones. Only one-fourth of the almost 7 million people reside in their historical homeland—the Volga region. The rest live outside Tatarstan.

"In places densely populated with Tatars," says R. Khakimov, "there are neither schools conducted in the Tatar language nor textbooks nor television. That is why we need an organ which would deal with these problems. So the main functions of the milli majlis (national congress) were to approve and establish a cultural-national autonomous entity. But there are categories of people who would like to assign the majlis the functions of a legislative organ on the territory of the republic, which, of course, is inadmissible.

The attempt to create a parallel parliament was condemned by many politicians, and Tatar President M. Shaymiyev was forced to make a special statement in which he warned the radicals about their responsibility for their actions.

Controller of the Flow

The more time that passes since the appearance of Mintimer Shaymiyev on the political scene, the more eloquently he is spoken of. At first he was perceived, in the republic and abroad, as a politician who happened to end up on the crest of power. Many even explained his election as president by the elements of chance and the result of a deal struck among national-communist forces.

But in recent months people have been speaking of him more and more frequently as a moderate centrist. And Shaymiyev does not deny this. On the contrary, he emphasizes it:

"Were it not for my firm centrist interethnic policy, perhaps we would not have succeeded in keeping the situation in its present condition. The slightest deviation in one direction or another could lead to destabilization.

"After the ban on the CPSU, a vacuum was formed. Not a single one of the forces currently operating in the republic was capable of filling it. We were afraid that the vacuum would start to be filled by nationalist forces or 'Democratic Russias.' My attitude toward them is known. Even during the time of the presidential elections I stated quite clearly that I do not accept the extremist wing of either Ittifak or the Democratic Party."

"How do you view Tatarstan's sovereignty?"

"We have said it before and we still stand by it: We are in favor of a union of Russia and a sovereign state of Tatarstan with equal rights. We are in favor of a unified economic space and a unified currency, and we are against all kinds of customs duties and so forth. We do not say that we will not pay taxes. We will. But for those affairs which have been voluntarily transferred or will be transferred to joint jurisdiction with Russia. These include defense, joint amenities, communications, and so forth. We are a sovereign republic and we will not join or withdraw from anything: We need a mechanism for joint survival, and the CIS needs this as well. This is my response both to those who wish to proclaim a national state and to those who are deliberately provoking a discussion of withdrawal from Russia. The most valuable thing for us has been and still is the friendship of the peoples of our republic."

"How are relations with the Russian leaders now?"

"I think they are normal. A negotiation process has begun and is in progress, although not without difficulties. We have earmarked the principles of an agreement between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan. There are still problems but we think that they too will be resolved with our mutual agreement. The path of negotiations is the best path for clarifying relations."

And Another Test for Durability

We would like to complete our discussion of the political map of Tatarstan on this hopeful note, but we cannot. In Kazan recently there were some events which again force us to think with alarm about the actions of the national radicals. The Consultative Council of the Congress of Democratic Forces was to begin its work in the republic capital. But its opening was essentially blocked by local nationalists. As the information agencies reported, several members of the congress were beaten up. Delegates tried to make contact with the republic leaders but without success. In the reception rooms they were told that everyone had left but, as it turned out later, the leaders of Tatarstan were there and were aware of what was happening.

In this connection in Kazan and later at a news conference in Moscow serious accusations were made against republic officials of pandering to nationalist escapades. But the measures that were taken (criminal cases were brought, there was a discussion of the incident at the session of the Supreme Soviet) give reason to assume that the leaders of Tatarstan understand the consequences to which complicity with illegal actions can lead. This is especially important now, on the eve of the 21 March referendum, during which the republic's population is to determine the future status of Tatarstan. The more so since the formulation of the question is very difficult, and some people regard a positive response as a resumption of relations between the autonomous entity and the center while others regard it as a withdrawal from Russia, for which there is an immense number of opponents.

The forthcoming event will undoubtedly be a serious test for the region, where the people have been living in peace and harmony for many centuries. It is precisely in preserving this harmony and not in reshaping the political map that the wisdom not only of the politicians but also of the citizens lies. This is precisely the aim of the 5 March appeal of the Russian Supreme Soviet to the people, the parliament, and the president of Tatarstan, which calls for balanced actions and common sense—the most necessary things in our turbulent times.

Komi Oil, Nonindustrial Workers on Strike

LD1703101592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0810 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Usinsk, Komi Republic, northern Russia, 17 Mar (ITAR- TASS)—Oil workers in the Komi Republic began strike actions yesterday without waiting for their demands to be met. During the initial phase, 42 wells in the northern oil and gas fields have stopped operations. The oil workers have been joined by workers in the educational and other nonindustrial sectors in Usinsk.

In mid-February Komi's oil workers began a strike after presenting a range of demands to the Russian Government. They wanted free prices for oil and gas, a number of perks for workers in the north, and supplies of logistic and consumer goods essential for state orders to be guaranteed in full. They suspended their strike after they reached an agreement with Russian Federation Government leaders that action on all their demands would be taken before March 15. Without waiting for this, they resumed the strike yesterday. [sentence as received]

The situation was also exacerbated by the Russian Government's allocation of 700 million rubles from reserves for pay raises for state sector workers in Vorkuta and Inta. In Usinsk this was seen as "provocative" and extremely unjust toward everyone else who has to work and live in the north. This is why they have added some demands: to increase pay and resolve the social problems of nonindustrial workers in Usinsk and other northern towns and settlements.

Yuriy Spiridonov, chairman of the Komi SSR Supreme Soviet, and Aleksandr Okatov, first deputy chairman of the Komi Republic Cabinet of Ministers, hurriedly flew to Moscow today to meet Gennadiy Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government, and seek a solution to the problem.

Shokhin Commission, Kuzbass Workers Meet

LD1403151992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1346 GMT 14 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Novokuznetsk —Liberalization of prices on energy-carriers will be carried out in stages, none of the draft plans envisages a complete freeing of prices, says Aleksandr Shokhin, deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation. On March 13, the delegation of the Russian Tripartite Commission on the Regulation of Social-Labor Relations headed by Shokhin had meetings in Novokuznetsk with the workers of the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine and the Yesaulskaya Mine as well as with regional workers' committee and the city administration. During the meetings Shokhin said: There are forces who are trying to "lay down" Kuzbass in a strike, to pit miners, steel makers, teachers, and medics against each other. According to him, the government of Russia is aware of the fact that unless it displays new strength and resolve within the Constitution's framework, it will lose people's trust. Without the support of labor collectives, and particular steel makers and coal miners, the government will not be able to cope with today's problems on its own. As Shokhin said,

during the nearest months the government will take serious steps to improve people's life, a whole set of mechanism is envisaged for advance target support of the people which would soften the price shock.

According to the information provided by the press service of the head of the administration of the Kemerovo region, representatives of the Regional Federation of Trade Unions the inter-sectoral coordinating committee of strike committees and the regional Soviet of People's Deputies did not take part in the visit to Novokuznetsk.

Interim Protocol Signed

LD1403102292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0133 GMT 14 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Grigoriy Shalakhin]

[Text] Kemerovo, 14 Mar (TASS)—At the start of the day representatives of the Russian Tripartite Commmission for Settling Social-Labor Relations, led by Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin, returned from Novokuznetsk to Kemerovo, the Kuzbass administrative center, where it continues its work today.

Yesterday the tripartite commission delegation signed what is known as an interim protocol. It sets out the findings relative to the demands put forward by the Council of the Federation of Trade-Union Organizations of the Kuzbass. The commission expressed its readiness to continue to work with the representatives of this federation in all possible areas to eliminate imbalances in wages for certain branches of the national economy of the Kuzbass and agreed to prepare within one month the necessary proposals on this issue for the Russian Government.

As far as the liberalization of prices for energy carriers is concerned, the commisson points out in the protocol that this is a necessary element of economic change. But it recognizes the need to determine a price-fixing policy for energy carriers taking account of the proposals of the trade union associations and entrepreneurs and to maintain for 1992 the state regulation of individual prices and tariffs.

Strikers See Efforts as 'Hot Air'

LD1503030792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 14 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The commission headed by Russian Vice Premier Shokhin has finished its talks with trade unions and strike committees in Kemerovo. The commission recognized the need for the imbalance between the wages of coal miners and those paid in other industries to be rectified as a matter of urgency. But the protocol which it drew up did not satisfy the strike committees' council. According to council representatives, the commission did not need to travel to the Kuzbass to take such a decision. They got the impression that the commission had been formed to give off hot air.

International

Kravchuk on Karabakh Conflict, Kiev Meeting

LD1203080592 Moscow TASS in English 0709 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 12 ITAR-TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) should do everything possible to "halt confrontation, war" in Nagorno-Karabakh and pull out troops from the region.

In an interview with the newspaper TRUD today, Kravchuk emphasised that at the forthcoming meeting of the CIS leaders in Kiev on March 20, Ukraine "should, together with Russia, raise before Azerbaijani and Armenian friends issues about this savage conflict. We should propose such mechanisms, such aid that would stop this slaughter, this madness."

On other aspects of the future meeting, Kravchuk said that in his view the military issue would be solved at it. "I would like very much to decide the issue of the Black Sea Fleet on the basis of an agreement," he added.

Dwelling in detail on Ukraine's position on the military issue, Kravchuk reiterated his republic's determination to form its own armed forces: "If we are an independent, sovereign state, we should create our own armed forces."

According to Kravchuk, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet will be formed in three stages up to 1994-95. The republic will withdraw from the general defence system in 1994. In four years, the army's strength will be brought to 220,000. "Our concept of the military policy is such that Ukraine wants to be a nuclear-free and neutral state, which is not a member of any bloc," Kravchuk noted.

Kravchuk ruled out the possibility of Ukraine quitting the Commonwealth. He voiced the need for the states of the former Soviet Union to interact in a great variety of areas. He thinks the success of reform in Ukraine is contingent on what is happening in other regions. "We will be able to halt the slump in production if we fulfill accords and do not look at our economic ties through political ambitions," Kravchuk said.

Kravchuk attributed the same to the political sphere.

Kravchuk reaffirmed his determination to "do everything for productive cooperation with Russia and other Commonwealth countries, prove and convince that we do not claim to leadership and do not set any dubious goals."

Ministry Issues Statement on Border Violations

LD1703105292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 17 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement expressing serious concern over violations of Ukraine's state border with Moldova by various armed groups. This carries a risk of individual regions in Ukraine being drawn into the conflict situation. Kiev has called upon the parties in the conflict to quickly achieve a political solution to all disputed issues.

National

Dnestr Ukrainians Appeal to Supreme Soviet

AU1603154292 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Delegates at the conference of the Ukrainian Culture Society of the Dnestr Kamenka rayon appealed to the Supreme Soviet and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk with a request to prevent the expansion of the civil war in the Dnestr region, where 250,000 Ukrainians, in particular, reside. In the struggle for power and for their own selfish goals, the appeal points out, the political leaders are not thinking about the people and are ready to stir up a Dnestr Karabakh, end of quotation [no opening quotation as heard].

The Ukrainians in the Dnestr region do not consider themselves to be a diaspora, because they reside on the land that has always been Ukrainian but that was rehashed on Stalin's order as far back as 1924.

Bashkirov Appointed Deputy Defense Minister

LD1703014992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2230 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Aviation Major General Mikhail Bashkirov, who has been released by an order of the central directorate of the CIS Joint Armed Forces from the post of commander of a strategic air division, has been appointed assistant to the Ukrainian defense minister with the right to advise on issues of battle training of the Uzin air division. Lieutenant Colonels Aleksandr Pakhomovskiy and Yuriy Skapkin, who have been transferred to the reserve, have been appointed Bashkirov's deputies.

Resolution on Assisting Press Explained

AU1703084392 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No 10 (56), Mar 92 p 5

[Article by V.S. Kolomiyets, senior specialist of the Cabinet of Ministers apparatus: "In Order to Provide Support for the Press"]

[Text] In the conditions of the transition to market relations and the establishment of Ukraine as an independent state, our press has become particularly unprotected. The lack of paper that was previously supplied to us, in a centralized manner, by the Russian Federation and the exorbitant prices set for it, as well as the

expenditure on the printing industry and on the delivery of the publications by branches of the State Committee for Communication that has increased by a factor of several times have led to a situation in which our periodicals have become "nonperiodic." They are issued from time to time. For example, by the beginning of March, the subscribers have only received No. 7 of the daily paper SILSKI VISTI, two million copies of which is printed at a time. DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA, PRAVDA UKRAYINY, and ROBITNYCHA HAZETA are in a similar situation.... Some of them, including URYADOVYY KURYER, have been published in half their normal size. It is needless to mention oblast, town, or rayon papers. They have hardly been printed at all lately.

In order to help our Ukrainian press out in this difficult time, the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers issued the resolution "On Measures for Providing State Support for the Press."

There is one point to which I would like to draw the readers' attention. First of all, this state document makes it incumbent upon Ukraine's State Committee for Questions of the Press to create equal possibilities for founders of newspapers and magazines in what concerns the use of printing facilities. This means that everybody, regardless of who is the founder of the periodical (a council of people's deputies, a public organization, or a private citizen) must have equal possibilities.

With regard to providing periodicals with paper, this will apply only to those newspapers and magazines that are meant for subscribers. The paper will be supplied in accordance with the corresponding interrepublican agreements. Unfortunately, so far, there is no possibility to supply paper for those newspapers and magazines that are intended for retail trade.

Of great interest is an item of Paragraph 2 of the resolution on preparing, in the first half of 1992, of the program for the development of the industrial foundation for the production of paper in Ukraine.

In order to satisfy the republic's needs for paper, the Ministry of the Economy, jointly with the interested ministries and departments, are working on the question of building a pulp-and-paper mill with a capacity of 140,000 tonnes of pulp and 200,000 tonnes of newsprint and printing paper in Ukraine. Negotiations with foreign firms on purchasing ecologically "clean" technology and equipment are also under way.

There was much talk about manufacturing paper from straw. Such technology exists, indeed, but paper manufactured from straw pulp cannot be used for printing newspapers. As regards acquiring foreign technology for reprocessing paper scrap into newsprint, this is inexpedient, because the Ukrainian Scientific Research Paper Institute has already elaborated such technology.

Along with resolving these tasks, the resolution makes it incumbent upon the Ministry of Finance to see to it that the draft republican budget provides for allocations to cover the expenses of periodicals published by the Supreme Council and by the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers. The Council of Ministers of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and oblast executive committees are expected to include in their local budgets a paragraph providing for subsidies to be allocated to editorial boards of newspapers published by councils of people's deputies and to consider the question of the size of taxes that are to be levied on the editorial offices of these newspapers.

The resolution of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers also provides for supplying the State Committee for the Press with special-purpose automobiles to be used by editorial boards of councils of people's deputies and by printing houses and also authorizes them to acquire abroad printing materials that are necessary for issuing newspapers and magazines.

Missile Plant To Start Building Trolley Buses

LD1603154492 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] According to a decision of the State Commission of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine the (Budenny) machine building plant in the city of Dnepropetrovsk, one of the leading enterprises within the military complex of the former USSR, halts the production of strategic missiles already in March this year. Despite the conversion program hundreds of thousands of workers at the enterprise do not face the threat of unemployment. Already today they got down to expanding the output of trolley buses, which have been traditionally imported from Czechoslovakia. The first vehicles made at the (Budenny) machine building plant already function in the streets of Dnepropetrovsk.

Auto Transport Workers Threaten To Strike

OW1603001292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The strike committee of auto transport workers intends to call a strike on March 17 if the Ukrainian government does not consider their demands.

A delegation of autotransport workers sent to Kiev to meet with V. Durdinets, the first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian parliament, did not manage to arrange the meeting because Durdinets postponed the talks for an unspecified time.

National AIDS Program Approved by Government

LD1303212392 Kiev Radio Kiev First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] The Ukraine Cabinet of Ministers has approved a national program of preventive measures against AIDS in Ukraine for 1992-1994. As there is still a lack of effective means of curing AIDS, considerable attention in the program is paid to propagating social, professional, and individual preventive measures against the disease and involving the mass media in this work.

Belarus

Foreign Minister Kravchenko Leaves for U.S.

LD1603193192 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By BELTA correspondent Tatyana Khryapina]

[Text] Minsk, March 16 TASS—Belarussian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko left on a working visit for the United States on Monday [16 March].

He will meet with U.S. President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker to discuss bilateral relations in political, economic and humanitarian fields, as well as the exchange of diplomatic missions, the BELTA News Agency learned from the press centre of the republican foreign ministry. Kravchenko will introduce Belarussian charge d'affaires to the United States.

He is also expected to meet U.N. Secretary General Butros Butros Ghali and the UNICEF leadership to discuss aid to the Commonwealth member-states and help of the world community in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

Kravchenko plans to meet officials of the International Monetary Fund to ask for credits and financing of a number of Belarussian projects.

Government Wants Funds To Clean Chernobyl Area

OW1603223992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1554 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [16 March], the Belarussian government discussed the possibility of securing a Russian interest loan of 25 billion roubles, to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

Vice-Chairman of the Belarussian Chernobyl Committee Anatoliy Zubovskiy, told IF [INTERFAX] that although the CIS leaders had signed an agreement, the aid coming from the former Soviet republics was very small.

He described as unfair Russia's and Ukraine's proposal to jointly finance clean-up operations through a common Moscow bank with equal participation of the three republics.

Speaking about the position of the Belarussian government, Anatoliy Zubovskiy said that since Belarus suffered from 70 per cent of the radioactive fall-out and the Chernobyl nuclear power plant was in a neighboring state which had never been under Belarussian jurisdiction, the share of Belarus in financing the clean-up operations should be much smaller than those of Russia and Ukraine.

Government To Open Seven Embassies in 1992

OW1603224192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1554 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with "INTERFAX" Belarussian Minister of Foreign Affairs Petr Kravchenko said that in spite of a lack of hard currency the Republic plans to open seven embassies this year: they will be in the United States, Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Israel, South Korea, and Poland. The US and Germany have already opened embassies in Minsk; France, Italy and China will soon follow suit.

The Foreign Minister said that by 1993 there will be nearly 20 foreign embassies in Belarus.

Kravchenko said that "Belarus has begun serious preparation to join the European Community". He said that this requires the introduction of radical economic reforms, privatization, and "even adapting to western European railroads (narrow tracks), and adopting other European standards".

Resolution on Military Service Outside Republic

LD1303234292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1546 GMT 13 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Active duty servicemen who were drafted from the territory of Belarus will be recalled from Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and Moldova before April 20.

Citizens of the Republic of Belarus will from now on do military service beyond the republic only on in accordance with laws of the Republic of Belarus, special inter-governmental agreements and exclusively on the voluntary basis, says the resolution on active duty service by citizens of the Republic of Belarus beyond its borders, which was adopted at the 9th session of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet on March 12. The issue of officers and warrant officers is planned to be discussed at the meeting of the CIS heads of state and government in Kiev on March 20. During the adoption of the resolution, some figures of the Belarussian Defense Ministry were made public:

11,866 servicemen do active duty service beyond the republic, including 44—in Moldova and 1,750—in Transcaucasia. Thirty thousand officers and warrant officers from Belarus do military service outside the republic.

Limit Set on Foreign Investment in Exchanges

LD1303215392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1427 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Minsk, 13 Mar (BELTA-TASS)—The overall proportion of foreign investors' funds in the Republic of Belarus's commodity exchanges must not exceed 25

percent. This provision is reflected in the law on commodity exchanges which was adopted by parliament today. The exchanges will create a wholesale market in commodities on the basis of free pricing and competition. The law stipulates that although the marketing of commodities on Belarus exchanges is conducted at free prices, auction methods of setting prices cannot be used.

Former USSR Property Taken Over by Republic

LD1303212792 Minsk Radiostantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarussian 2230 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Some 618 various economic branches of former Union subordination have become republican property. What have we inherited from the former Union? It amounts to 35 scientific and production associations, 48 shareholders associations, 520 enterprises with production volume of up to 100 million rubles, 90 enterprises with a volume of up to 1 billion rubles and 8 enterprises with a volume over 1 billion rubles. Among those put on the republic's books are 11 unprofitable enteprises.

Large Lignite Deposit Found in Southern Areas

LD1303192192 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarussian 1300 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Lignite, a valuable fuel for thermal power stations, has been found in the depths of the Belarussian Polesye [area in the south of Belarus]. Geologists claim that the prospected deposits in Zhitkovichi rayon hold tens of millions of tonnes of this mineral. The shallow depth of the deposits will allow open extraction without constructing mines. On the government's instructions, the State Scientific Research Planning Institute of the Coal Industry has worked out a technical and economic basis of expediency for constructing the first lignite pit.

Moldova

Snegur, Romania's Iliescu Discuss Dnestr

LD1603230692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2145 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dmitriy Dyakov]

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Mar (TASS)—The presidents of Moldova and Romania, Ion Iliescu and Mircea Snegur, exhanged opinions on the events in the Dnestr Republic in a telephone conversation they held today. "We are worried about the number of armed Cossacks and newly arriving Russians appearing in this zone of late. We are worried about the acts of violence resulting in deaths, and deliberate disinformation about Romania's interference in these events," Iliescu said. Romania's head of state reported that according to M. Snegur, the deputy chief commander of the CIS Joint Armed Forces and three Russian deputies have arrived in Chisinau. "We hope that their presence will help Moldovan legitimate bodies of power find the necessary decisions the political leadership of the republic is looking for," the president said. In conclusion, Iliescu noted that Romania counts on the support and responsibility of "all those who can facilitate the settlement of the conflict in the Dnestr Republic."

Iliescu Calls on Russia

LD1703114792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] A state of emergency [chrezvychaynoye polozeniye] has been introduced in the Dnestr region. Romanian President Iliescu has called on Russia, as he put it, to disarm the Dnestr separatists, and has voiced concern over the appearance of armed Cossack detachments in the region.

CSCE Delegation Visits To Assess Situation

AU1203193692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1834 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/3/1992—A CSCE delegation headed by Jan Lundving, representative of Sweden's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Chisinau to get informed about the social-political and economic situation in the Republic of Moldova and then to present a report to the CSCE conference.

The members of the mission met with Gheorghe Efros, deputy prime minister, head of the state department for economic reform, with the minister of culture and religious affairs, with representatives of various religious denominations in the Republic of Moldova. The members of the CSCE mission also had interviews with Lieutenant General Ion Costas, minister of defence, and with Anatol Plugaru, minister of national security, who informed them about the developments in Transdniestria, about the competence and role of the national security bodies in the current social-political and military context in the Republic.

Received by Snegur

AU1403202492 Bucharest, ROMPRES in English 0920 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/3/1992—The president of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur received on 13 March a visiting CSCE mission. Its head, Jean Lundvik, said it was a fact-finding visit that had convinced its members of the democratic reforms that the current leadership of Moldova pursued on the basis of respect for the law, MOLDOVA PRES says. The languages law and the citizenship law of the Republic of Moldova were shown to be in line with international standards and not a subject for controversy, least of all for clashes between the majority population and the minorities.

President Snegur who appreciated the work of previous missions was hopeful that the mission would fairly depict and report on the realities on the left bank of the Dnestr.

Bridge in Dnestr Area Reportedly Destroyed

OW1503143292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1414 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tension mounted sharply in the Dnestr region on Sunday [15 March] night. IF [INTERFAX] learned from the Moldova Interior Ministry press-bureau that at around 22:00 local time, Saturday [14 March], the guards of the Dnestr region blew up a bridge across the Dnestr at the city of Dubossary on the Kishinev-Volgograd highway.

On Sunday night there was fighting between the Dnestr guards and Moldova's police near the village of Keshnitsa. The Moldovan Interior Ministry press-bureau reports that the guards used hail-suppression rockets, mortars and grenades in the fighting. No casualty reports are so far available.

The police destroyed 11 combat vehicles while repelling the March 14 attacks by the Dnestr guards, reported the press-bureau of the Moldovan Interior Ministry. Moldova's Saturday casualties: 1 dead and 8 wounded.

The republican Interior Ministry press-bureau also reports that on Saturday evening around 600 armed guards and Cossacks and women of the Tiraspol strike committee blocked a military unit of the 14th CIS army stationed near Tiraspol.

The attackers used heavy trucks to ram through the military base gates and seized a large quantity of weapons and ammunition, including 1300 Kalashnikov assault rifles, 1.5 ammunition rounds [as received], 255 Makarov and TT handguns, 1300 grenades and 15 grenade launchers and ammunition, and 30 portable surface-to-air missiles.

Army General: Approaches To Arms Depots Mined

LD1603174592 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By Unidentifed MOLDOVA-PRES correspondent]

[Text] Kishinev, March 16 TASS—"The approaches to arms depots in Moldova are mined and any attempts to seize weapons can have grave consequences," General Yuriy Netkachev, commander of the 14th Army, said in an interview with Moldavian National Radio.

A spokesman in the Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr Republic, the proclaimation of which is regarded as unconstituitonal by the Moldovan parliament, told a MOLDOVA-PRES correspondent that Netkachev met Chairman of this Soviet Grigoriy Marakutsa. During the meeting, the latter promised to return the weapons of one of the units within the 14th Army, which was stolen yesterday. Otherwise, the military threatened to return their weapons by the use of force.

Reserve Troops Start Arriving in Transdnestr

AU1603200992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Gabriel Ionescu report from Chisinau]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, the Ministry of Interior's Press Bureau confirmed reports that last night and today were relatively calm in the rayons on the left bank of the Dnestr River. In some localities, however, sporadic firing was noted. Policemen, who are watching the Dubossary Bridge, told a Chisinau radio reporter that they do not have enough weapons and ammunition to respond to separatists' attacks. Only one out of five people has a machine gun. The bodies of people, who died by bullets, are still lying in neighboring fields. No one has enough courage to remove them. Three policemen were killed and 12 were injured in yesterday's confrontations, according to an Interior Ministry communique. Hundreds of residents of Pirita and Cosnita villages today crossed the Dnestr on the Vadul lui Voda bridge—the condition of which deteriorated after being blown up by guardsmen. Those villagers are seeking refuge on the right bank of the Dnestr and are heading for Chisinau, hoping that they will be safe here.

General Dabija, military commissary of the Republic, stated that as of today the act of completing the units of the Ministry of Interior will take place in the next two to three days, in accordance with the decree of the president of the Republic and the order of the minister of national defense. This does not mean a mobilization, said the general.

Today, the first reserve troops from various rayons of Moldova already have arrived in Cahul. They will be equipped, instructed, and placed at the disposal of the Ministry of Interior for the purpose of maintaining public order, as the situation requires it.

Gagauz Leaders Appeal to Yeltsin To Intervene

LD1603231792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] After the ultimatum to Transdnestr, which was announced by Kishinev yesterday, the night passed relatively quietly. According to TASS reports, the inhabitants of the left bank are digging trenches.

In Moldova today, preparations started for the possible mobilization of officers and soldiers in the reserve. INTERFAX reports that tens of thousands of reservists could immediately be called to arms.

The leaders of the Gagauz Republic have sent a statement to Yeltsin requesting him to intervene and help

stop the fratricidal war between Transdnestr and Gagauzia, and also to prevent Romania's interference in the affairs of the Russian state.

Kishinev's ultimatum runs out at 1800 tomorrow.

Offensive Against Dnestr Fails To Materialize

LD1703103992 Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, March 17 (ITAR-TASS)—A lull set in in the area of Dubossary where fighting between Moldovan police and armed units of the Dnestr area took place in recent days. There was sporadic fire on the banks of the Dnestr at night, but no clashes were registered, TASS learned from the Moldovan Interior Ministry on Tuesday [17 March]. This report was confirmed in Tiraspol. The rumours about a large-scale offensive of Moldovan police on the Dnestr zone last night proved false.

According to reports of Moldovan radio, disagreements occurred in Tiraspol between heads of enterprises of the region and leaders of the breakaway Dnestr Republic. The deadline for the surrender of arms imposed on the Dnestr zone by the Moldovan Government expires at six p.m. on Tuesday. But Vladimir Rylyakov, one of the leaders of the Dnestr Republic, says that work collectives of the region send telegrammes demanding that the terms of the ultimatum should not be accepted and that the arising problems should be decided by negotiations.

'Intense Fighting' Breaks Out in Dubossary

LD1703112592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] The press bureau of the Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs reported that at 0400 today intense fighting broke out between attacking guardsmen and Cossacks and defending forces of the Moldovan police near the village of Kochiery in the Dubossary region. There are dead and wounded on both sides.

At 0700 today forces of guardsmen and Cossacks, numbering up to 600 people, and 12 units of armored equipment began an assault on the besieged village of Koshnitsa. The local population is taking part in defending the village alongside the police forces. Figures on casualties are being investigated.

In the region of Dubossary and Grigoriopol shots from large-caliber machine-guns, sniper guns, and Alazan-type missiles are being fired from the left bank of the Dnestr. There are casualties. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1046 GMT on 17 March adds: "The Dnestr Republic press center has confirmed the military actions, blaming the Moldovan police for the deterioration in the situation. According to reports from Tiraspol, the sides were ordered to stop fighting after 1100."]

Casualties Reported in Clashes in Transdnestr

AU1703122792 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Report by Gabriel Ionescu from Chisinau]

[Text] The parliament of the Republic of Moldova met today at 1000 in a closed-door session. Reporters were asked to leave the hall. However, we learned that President of the Republic Mr. Mircea Snegur briefed the deputies on the alarming situation on the left bank of the Dnestr River and presented a number of proposals to solve the conflict. The parliamentarians' discussions continue.

After a day of relative calm, the bandit separatist gangs today launched a true offensive against some localities on the left bank of the Dnestr River. This morning, at around 0400, intense fighting took place near Kochiery, Dubossary Rayon, between the attacking guardists and Cossacks and the defending police forces of Moldova. Both sides suffered dead and wounded, Moldova's Ministry of Interior announced.

At 0700, 600 separatists with 12 armored cards launched an offensive on Koshnitsa village, which is defended by the police, helped by the local population. Along the Dnestr River, in the Dubossary-Grigoriopol area, heavy machine-gun fire can be heard; sniper rifles and (?Alazan) missiles are also being used. Further details on the number of victims will be released later, the Ministry of Interior communique reads.

Esteemed listeners, the atmosphere in Tiraspol, the center of the separatist leaders, is tense. Women and children are taking refuge in Chisinau and Odessa. Education institutions were closed down. Tiraspol Radio Station, cited by Chisinau Radio, announced today, at 0630, that the mobilization of reservists for the so-called Republican Guard and for the creation of an army of volunteers has started. Today, the mobilization of all Cossacks in the Black Sea region continues. The enlisting of the volunteers and mercenaries was scheduled to take place in the square in front of the House of the Soviets an hour ago.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Japan

LD1603150392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo, 16 Mar (TASS)— Japan established diplomatic relations with Moldova today. The Japanese

Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that an official ceremonial exchange of documents between the two countries' representatives took place in Moscow. To date Japan has established relations with Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and the Ukraine, and has recognized Russia as the successor to the USSR. Tokyo does not yet maintain official relations with Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan, although it has recognized all of these as independent states. The Japanese Government has still not recognized Georgia.

Democrat Deputy Gimpu Considers Dnestr Issue

AU1203102392 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 10 Mar 92 p 2

[Telephone interview with George Gimpu, deputy in the Chisinau Parliament and co-chairman of the Democratic Party in Moldova, by Laszlo Daroczi on 9 March; place not given: "A Chisinau Opinion on Greater Romania—Unification Is Not Realistic"]

[Text] Events in Moldova continue to receive particular attention after lives have been lost in the conflict between the Moldovans and the Russian-speaking minority, and because, from time to time, it is suggested that Moldova unite with Romania as soon as possible. We asked George Gimpu to assess the news and rumors.

[Daroczi] We are receiving alarming news from Moldova these days. Is the way out of this unfortunate conflict within sight?

[Gimpu] According to my latest information, there is relative quiet on the other side of the Dnestr, and it is encouraging that the members of the conciliation committee are at the negotiating table in Bendera. We definitely want to settle this conflict peacefully because we could not consider ourselves democratic if we used force. Unfortunately, the other side is continuing its provocations. This is the only way we can view the rumors that Romanian volunteers have participated in the conflict. This is an unfounded slander. They obviously wanted to justify the presence of Cossacks from the Russian town of Rostov. Willingly or unwillingly, their presence proves that there are many people who yearn for the return of imperial and communist ideals. They are the ones who, under cover of the illusion of an independent republic along the Dnestr, deceived and incited the Russian-speaking minority.

[Daroczi] How much power does the republican center have on the other side of the Dnestr?

[Gimpu] Economic relations are more or less continuing, but the secessionists are trying to take over the legal and legislative activities to such an extent that our police are often unable to defend the rights of Moldovans living there.

[Daroczi] In your view, can the Russian-speaking minority's prejudices and fears about the independent Moldovan Government be resolved through any type of reassurance?

[Gimpu] Look, it does not matter what we say while certain people feel that they can expect considerable external assistance. They therefore continue their propaganda war to deceive the people, for example, about the alleged unification with Romania.

[Daroczi] This past weekend we heard that the Romanian opposition group Democratic Convention is striving for the unification of these countries....

[Gimpu] Undoubtedly, there are forces and groups in Moldova and Romania who would welcome the establishment of a greater Romania, because we, too, are Romanians. Even now, we hear of initiatives urging another referendum in our republic about the future of the country. It was the recent referendum, however, that officially confirmed Moldova's independence, so there is no talk about any unification intentions. Naturally, both here and in Romania, people have the right to talk about unification, but reality is another matter. In any case, Moldova is primarily interested in integration with Europe.

IMF Experts Visit, Promise Assistance

AU1203160892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1329 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/3/1992—In an interview granted to the MOLDOVA-PRES news agency, Frederik Bil, head of the delegation of experts of the International Monetary Fund [IMF], who are paying a visit to the Republic of Moldova, said the IMF experts would grant documentation on economic reform and assist the leadership of the republic to achieve the reform, to create new economic structures, and to improve the fiscal system and price formation.

These problems were the main issues tackled during the talks with Constantin Tampiza, minister of national economy and finance, who said that the government was willing to consider proposals and suggestions made by experienced experts. The main problem facing the Moldovan leadership at present is the state of finances. Another serious issue is the fact that 93 percent of existing enterprises are state monopoly, which poses serious obstacles to the development of competition and the elaboration of a normal policy in price formation, Mr. Tampiza said.

Conscripts Turning To 'Alternative Service'

OW1103230392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1626 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldovan Defence Minister Lieutenant-General Ion Kostash said he was dissatisfied with the law on the alternative service. Speaking on national radio on Wednesday [11 March], he stressed that this law gives one an opportunity to evade military service under the pretext of being a believer or a pacifist.

By March 1, more than half of the conscripts have applied for an alternative service. If their requests are met, he said, a national army will hardly be formed.

Chief of the Department for Alternative Service Anton Skudilenko told IF [INTERFAX] that soon the number of young men enlisted for an alternative service will be reduced to not more than 5 per cent of the total number of conscripts.

Kazakhstan

Libyan Cultural, Economic Cooperation Talks Open

LD1303152292 Tripoli Great Jamahiriyah Radio Network in Arabic 1230 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Arab Libyan-Kazakh talks began this morning in Alma-Ata, the capital of the Republic of Kazakhstan, to examine relations in the cultural and economic fields between the Great Jamahiriyah and the Republic of Kazakhstan. Attendeding the talks were the brother secretary of the People's Committee for the Treasury, brother 'Alim 'Abd Al-Sattar, minister of science and technology, and Yerkegaliy Rakhmadiyev, the minister of cultural affairs in the Republic of Kazakhstan, and a number of experts and specialists of the two countries.

The brother secretary of the People's Committee for the Treasury, who is currently visiting the Republic of Kazakhstan, later met the first deputy prime minister [passage indistinct]. During the meeting they discussed a number of issues of interest to the Great Jamahiriyah and the Republic of Kazakhstan. [passage omitted]

Diplomatic Relations Established

LD1303184492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1547 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Alma-Ata, 13 Mar (KAZTAG-TASS)—Kazakhstan and Libya established diplomatic and consular relations today. The appropriate protocols were signed here during a visit to the Kazakh capital by a Libyan government delegation headed by Treasury Secretary Muhammad al-Madani al-Bukhari.

Today, also, Daulet Sembayev, Kazakhstan's first deputy prime minister, received the delegation.

Protocols on setting up an intergovernmental commission on cooperation in trade, science, engineering, transport, and culture were also signed.

Parliamentary Delegation Visits Mongolia

LD1103180192 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0000 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] The first parliamentary delegation from the former Soviet Union republics since the formation of the CIS arrived in Ulaanbaatar today for an official visit. It includes representatives of the standing committees of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kazakhstan Sabdenov and Tokhtarov and (?Pinkolov), a member of the standing committee on issues of developing science and public education at the Kazakh parliament. By the end of the week they will have meetings with their Mongolian colleagues, chairmen of standing committees, and members of the Small State Hural, the country's permanent parliament. The agenda for their stay also includes visits to ministries, departments, and enterprises and trips around the Mongolian capital. It is expected that the parliamentarians from Kazakhstan will be received by Mongolian Vice President Gonchigdorj and Deputy Prime Minister Dorligjab.

British Petroleum Withdraws Bid For Oil Field

OW1703012392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1905 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Interfax" has learned that the British Petroleum company has refused to participate in the competition for the right to develop the Karachaganak oil and gas condensate deposit (Kazakhstan) since becoming acquainted with the terms of the deal. The specific reasons for refusing are still unknown. At this point there are basically only two companies competing: Italy's Agip and British Gas. By April 1st, 1992, they must submit their proposals on opening up the Karachaganak deposit to the organizational committee. It is assumed that the winner company will be announced July 1st.

Resources at the Karachaganak deposit total more than 1 trillion cubic meters of gas and about 80 mn [million] tons [as received] of oil.

Presidential Decree Sets Up Republican Guard

LD1603201192 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] By his own decree, the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan is to form a republican guard with the aim of ensuring the sovereignty, and of protecting citizens' constitutional rights and freedom, and also other vital interests of life. The Republic of Kazakhstan's republican guard will be a special military force and reserve of the armed forces. The republican guard will be subordinated to the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The direct command will be given to the commandor of the republican guards. The manning of the republican guard is to be carried out in accordance with current legislation on a voluntary basis from those citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan liable for military service.

The Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Kazakhstan was instructed to prepare and present for approval regulations for the republican guard of the Republic of Kazakhstan and proposals for its structure and personnel before 15 April 1992.

Socialist Party Holds Congress, Elects Chairman

LD1603174892 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent Valeriy Danshin]

[Text] Alma-Ata March 16 TASS—The Kazakh Socialist Party, heir to the Communist party of Kazakhstan, has held its congress in the city of Alma-Ata. The congress adopted a number of documents aimed at uniting the democratic forces in Kazakhstan. The congress elected

the well-known writer and public figure Anuar Alimjanov as chairman. 237 delegates represented 46 thousand former communists but there is a tendency that this number will grow. 2.3 thousand new members who never belonged to any party have joined the Kazakh Socialist Party recently.

The former communists proclaimed one of their main objectives the transition towards a market economy and the revival of peasantry.

Congress Adopts Documents

OW1503233892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The 19th Congress of Kazakhstan's Socialist (former Communist) Party came to a close late on the night of March 14 with the adoption of a number of documents characterizing the current processes in the republic and CIS countries.

For example, a Resolution On The Commonwealth Of Independent States urges the ex-Soviet republics to create supranational structures within the CIS on the model of the European Community. The socialists believe that "a confederative Commonwealth would provide for a better future of the CIS peoples and states."

A Resolution On The Attitude Of The Socialist Party Toward The Economic Reforms In Kazakhstan criticizes the price liberalization policy being conducted by the republican president.

The socialists emphasize that the population's poverty cannot be underemphasized. Unless the government takes some steps to ameliorate the situation, "a major social upheaval is possible."

The government lacks a coherent plan for privatization, a key element of the economic reforms. According to experts, privatization is being conducted for the benefit of a limited number of people "interested in the establishment of monopolistic pseudo-business structures and in providing for their ascendance in the economy."

Discussing the party card, delegates decided to keep the portrait of V.I. Lenin on the cover.

Background note: Kazakhstan's Socialist Party was established on September 7, 1991, at an extraordinary 18th Congress of the Communist Party that decided to dissolve itself at that congress. The party assumed the name at the suggestion of the then first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Nursultan Nazarbayev who is now unemployed. The party now has a membership of 46,000.

Committee Appeals To Restore Communist Party

OW1503233792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] For three days already the Alma-Ata region committee for the restoration of the Kazakh Communist Party has been circulating leaflets among the population calling "to send to the veche, to be held in Moscow on March 17, grassroots representatives of the towns and regions elected within factory and farming constituencies." The Appeal to the Masses says that the chief objective of the veche to be called is "to confirm the choice of the masses that was made at the referendum, to put an end to the anti-popular policy and to adopt the program for coping with the crisis."

Medical Workers Face Shortages, Low Pay

LD1103193392 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0200 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Health care in Kazakhstan is in a critical state. There are not enough funds, and the acute shortage of medicine along with the lack of social protection for medical workers, whose salaries do not provide a real standard of living, have brought medicine to a point that is dangerous for all of society. The socioeconomic situation in the industry was examined at a plenum of the central committee of the health workers trade union. A republic strike committee was formed at the plenum and demands were formulated and sent to the president and prime minister of the republic.

Armenia

President Plans Meeting With Azerbaijani Leader

LD1703093692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Armenia intends to ask the Commonwealth of Independent States to send its peace-keeping troops to Nagorno-Karabakh. Addressing a news conference in Yerevan, the Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Ovanesyan has said this proposal will be made at the forthcoming meeting of the CIS leaders due in Kiev on Friday [20 March].

In advance of the summit, President of Armenia Levon Ter-Petrosyan is planning to meet the Azerbaijani Acting President Yakub Mamedov to discuss possible acts of goodwill on the part of Azerbaijan, such as, for instance, a lifting of the blockade against Armenia and a consent to the participation of Azerbaijan in the future talks between representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh.

President Praises Peace Plan, Iran's Efforts

LD1603174192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1515 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] [Announcer] After two days of talks in Tehran, in which Iranian officials took part as mediators, the two sides—Armenia and Azerbaijan—have worked out the basic principles for a solution to the Karabakh problem. This solution boils down to a provisional cease-fire, which will subsequently become a permanent one; an exchange of prisoners and the dead; and the lifting of the economic blockade on the population centers. We go over now to Koryun Khumaryan in Yerevan:

[Khumaryan] Over the past few days the world's press and the press of the Commonwealth of Independent States has indeed been paying a great deal of attention to the meeting between Armenian and Azerbaijanian representatives in Tehran, but at the same time it seems to me that descriptions of the meetings are somewhat erroneous when they are called talks between Armenia and Azerbaijan on a cease-fire in Karabakh, particularly when they are described as talks on a peaceful settlement of the Karabakh problem or conflict.

In order not to be misunderstood, I'll try to explain what I mean. The fact is—and incidentally the leadership of Armenia has made totally unambiguous statements about this on more than one occasion—that it would be quite wrong to explain the essence of the events taking place in Karabakh as being due to the confrontation of Armenia and Azerbaijan in Nagorno-Karabakh. For four years the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh has been waging an unequal struggle for its inalienable right to self-determination, which was crowned by the referendum of the whole people, the declaration of the independent republic of Nagorno-Karabakh and the creation of their own statehood in Karabakh.

Now the world's public, too, is inclining increasingly to the thought that the fate of Karabakh has to be resolved by means of peaceful talks between representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh itself and Azerbaijan. Armenia must of course take part in these talks, but only as a third party, in so far as it cannot remain indifferent to the fate of Armenians who make up a majority of the population of the republic of Nagorno-Karabakh. Moreover, Armenia agrees in advance to any solution that is reached at these bilateral talks between Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan, and that is to the liking of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh.

At the same time it remains a fact that only the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan are meeting in Tehran under the mediation of the Iranian side. Why? I put that question to Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of the Republic of Armenia, at a news conference for local and overseas journalists that was held today. I would like you to hear his reply:

[Begin Ter-Petrosyan recording] You are aware that an understanding on a cease-fire was reached three days ago between the authorities of Azerbaijan and Karabakh, and I can assure you that that understanding, in a certain sense, is being observed by both sides, despite the fact that there are violations, first by one side and then by the other. But the fact that Azerbaijan and Karabakh have managed to reach agreement on at least a provisional cease-fire gives rise to great hope, and here I must note the outstanding efforts made by the Iranian authorities. The talks that are taking place in Tehran are aimed precisely at consolidating this understanding reached between Azerbaijan and Karabakh. [end recording]

[Khumaryan] That is the real significance and essence of the talks currently taking place in Iran between the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan on settling the Karabakh problem. Thank you for your attention. Do you have any questions.

[Announcer] Thank you, we have no questions.

President Urges Recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1703105792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0910 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 17 Mar (TASS)—Armenia should not be the first country to recognize the independence of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, according to Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan. Speaking at a news conference, he stressed that Yerevan is directing its efforts at prompting other countries to doing this. As soon as at least one country recognizes Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia immediately will become the second state to recognize its independence. Otherwise, this would be assessed as interference in the internal affairs of Azerbaijan, Levon Ter-Petrosyan said.

The president said that "we do not wish, on our part, to provoke an exacerbation of the conflict in our region," while admitting, however, that "a part of the opposition" is reproaching the Armenian leadership for procrastination in recognizing the independence of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

Discussing problems in resolving the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, Levon Ter-Petrosyan declared that Armenia and Azerbaijan can agree on anything, but these agreements will not lead to any results if the people of Karabakh do not agree with us. At the same time, Armenia is willing to abide by any agreement reached by Azerbaijan and Karabakh. This is the basic principle that Yerevan will follow in resolving the Karabakh conflict, the president said.

Touching on the state of relations with Azerbaijan after the change in leadership, Levon Ter-Petrosyan noted that outwardly they seem to be the same as during Mutalibov's time. We are having constant contacts, the Armenian president said, often forced contacts, necessitated by repeated problems in Karabakh, in border areas and on railways. Thus he reported that for the past three days the railway has been completely blockaded, and that no freight transport with fuel and other consumer goods is arriving in Armenia through Azrebaijan.

In connection with that, Levon Ter-Petrosyan presumed that the new leadership in Azerbaijan does not yet control the situation in the republic. Until the situation in Azerbaijan stabilizes and we have an honest partner with whom we will be able to observe fair play, we will not achieve anything, the Armenian president said.

President Wants Arms Transfers on Kiev Agenda

OW1703122492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1055 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan said that the forthcoming CIS summit to open in Kiev on March 20 should begin with the discussion of the illegal passing to Azerbaijan of armaments and equipment by the CIS's 4th army, and the CIS Command's passive position on the score.

The Armenian president's statement circulated in Yerevan on Monday [16 March] evening, says that lately, instances of illegal supplies of armaments and equipment by the CIS armed forces to Azerbaijan had become quite frequent. Since the beginning of the year, the Azeri army has obtained arms depots of the Trans-Caucasian military district with a total capacity of around 78 megatons, more than 50 T-72 tanks, over 100 armored vehicles, dozens of artillery launchers, including Grad ones, 9 combat helicopters, small arms and large amounts of cartridges and projectiles.

All of this ammunition and equipment, obtained without a single shot or resistance on the part of the CIS servicemen, is immediately taken to Nagorno-Karabakh where it is used to annihilate civilians, says the statement.

UK Envoy Discusses Nagorno-Karabakh Peace

PM1703105392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Norayr Shakhabasyan report: "Talks Are The Path to Agreement"]

[Text] A meeting has taken place between the Armenian president and Douglas Hogg, a minister at the British Foreign Office, who arrived in Yerevan from Baku. Hogg is in the region on a fact-finding mission within the framework of the CSCE. The guest from Great Britain reported that all the political circles in Azerbaijan agree on granting Karabakh cultural autonomy.

The Armenian president set out the Armenian side's position. It is necessary to ensure conditions for the Armenians' security and day-to-day functioning in Nagorno-Karabakh. The president expressed his doubt over whether Azerbaijan is able to give similar guarantees and noted that only the CIS's peacekeeping forces can realistically guarantee a cease-fire and stabilize the situation. The activities of these forces and compliance with the cease-fire will be monitored by CSCE observers.

After this, the phase for political negotiations will come. [Armenian President] L. Ter-Petrosyan specially pointed out that the negotiations should be conducted between the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan. Armenia will play a secondary role in the the negotiations and will agree with any decisions which satisfy the Karabakh Armenians.

On the subject of third countries acting as intermediaries, the Armenian president stated that he considers Turkey's participation in the role of intermediary as inadvisable, inasmuch as a departure from a neutral stance has recently been discernible in the speeches of this country's statesmen.

A news conference with the British Foreign Office minister took place following the talks. To the question of the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh's participating in the negotiations D. Hogg gave the following answer:

"I consider its participation in the negotiations to be necessary. Any agreement without the participation of the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh cannot be a lasting agreement."

Artik State of Emergency To Last 15 Days

LD1603131492 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Today the Armenian parliament approved by a majority vote a decree by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan imposing a state of emergency in the town of Artik, which is in the northwest part of the republic. As

is known, on 8 March there was an attempt to seize arms from a CIS combined forces unit stationed in the town, and several servicemen were taken hostage.

Addressing deputies, the president of Armenia noted that his decree is mostly a preventive measure since, although the situation in returning to normal, antagonism exists between the military and civilians. On the whole, the situation is not giving rise to concern, despite isolated outbreaks of unrest. Evon Ter-Petrosyan also reported that on 14 March there were a number of minor incidents in Artik.

The president of Armenia moved that the Supreme Soviet examine this issue in accordance with the republic's law on the presidency—which according to law must be done within 48 hours of issuing a state of emergency. The Armenian Supreme Soviet approved the document and then, at the president's invitation, decided that the state of emergency in Artik will remain in force for 15 days.

Turkish Envoy Explains Position on Conflict

NC1703082092 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] President Ter-Petrosyan received Turkish Ambassador to Russia Volkan Vural on 16 March. In conveying the greetings of Turkish President Turgut Ozal and Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, the ambassador informed Ter-Petrosyan that on the instructions of Suleyman Demirel he came to Yerevan to clarify certain matters, to express official Turkish views on the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and on the prospects for Armenian-Turkish relations, and to acquaint himself with the Armenian authorities' views.

It was noted that despite the public pressure at home, Turkey is guided in its international relations by neutrality and the principles of equal partnership, leaving no room for emotional outbursts, an impression created recently by the misrepresentation of certain statements.

The ambassador stated that Turkey supports the documents adopted at the CSCE on the peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and is ready to help as much as possible with implementing the decisions, and first of all, with reaching a cease-fire.

In the Turkish side's view, Nagorno-Karabakh's autonomy must be ensured while respecting the principle of Azerbaijan's territorial integrity. It was stressed that the conflict should not be allowed to assume a religious tone during the political [word indistinct] over the resolution of the conflict.

President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, responding to the ambassador's request, put forward Armenia's position on these matters and enumerated those principles and political initiatives which were on numerous occasions expressed during public pronouncements and widely reported in the press.

After that, the question of bilateral relations between Armenia and Turkey was comprehensively discussed. Both sides stressed the importance of establishing trade, economic, cultural, and tourism ties. They stressed that for the sake of making progress in these fields, it is expedient to avoid putting forward political preconditions which at this stage might undermine efforts being exerted to normalize relations.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the two states was given specific consideration. Consultations and talks will be held on this issue in the future at the foreign ministry level. The need to be mutually guided by the basic principles of the international organizations to which Armenia and Turkey belong also was stressed.

Ambassador Vural noted that Turkey undertook a genuine (?initiative) on the issue of humanitarian assistance for Armenia and other CIS countries. The only concern was that arms not be transported to the republic under the guise of humanitarian assistance.

Other matters of mutual interest also were raised at the meeting. Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Ovanesyan and other officials were present at the meeting.

Reassures President

LD1603185992 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Yerevan March 16 TASS—The Turkish leadership today assured Armenia of its interest in a settlement of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan told reporters today, after meeting Turkish Ambassador to Russia Volkan Vural.

The ambassador came to Yerevan on a brief visit to discuss the Karabakh conflict and ways of resolving it and Armenian-Turkish bilateral relations, Petrosyan said.

"As regards relations between our countries, Armenia bases its position on accepted international principles, such as non- interference in internal affairs, a nation's right to self determination and settling disputes by political means," he said.

"Unfortunately, Turkey has recently lost its neutrality as regards the Karabakh conflict and we expressed hope that it would be able to address the problem impartially," he said.

Petrosyan stressed that the Armenian position is gaining recognition by the international community: Nagorno-Karabakh is an independent political factor and talks should be held between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Turkish ambassador had a closed door meeting with Armenian foreign minister Raffi Ovanesyan.

President Interviewed on Relations With Turkey

NC1603161492 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 14 Mar 92 p 16

["Exclusive" interview with President Levon Ter-Petrosyan by HURRIYET correspondent Nerdun Hacioglu in Yerevan; date not given]

[Text] [Hacioglu] Can you comment on Turkey's recent proposal for a cease-fire and peace agreement?

[Ter-Petrosyan] The number of peace plans put forward has recently increased. James Baker proposed a five-party conference in Brussels on Tuesday [17 March] and the United States, Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Turkey were invited to participate. Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati also put forward a peace plan but he called for talks between Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia, and Iran. Foreign Minister Raffi Ovanesyan is currently holding talks with Douglas Hogg, secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs. I believe we will have another plan and I regard all these initiatives as a positive effort. I wish to stress: We want all the sides concerned to participate in the peace process. There must be no discrimination against any party. If Iran is to take part then so should Turkey and vice versa. None of the parties should be left out.

[Hacioglu] What do you think about diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey?

[Ter-Petrosyan] We are prepared to establish diplomatic relations with Turkey. Armenia will not put forward political preconditions and I believe Turkey will respond favorably. Preconditions by any of the two sides will make it difficult, if not impossible, to establish relations. If relations are established between the two countries then we shall have ample time to think about the problems we must solve. For our part, reactivating economic relations between Armenia and Turkey is the most important concern.

Karabakh Not a Trump Card

[Hacioglu] The latest political developments in Azerbaijan and your election as president of Armenia two years ago are linked with the incidents in Karabakh. It is as if you have turned the Karabakh question into an ideology, a state doctrine. Do you agree? Will you not regard the Karabakh question as a condition to help you stay in power?

[Ter-Petrosyan] I agree with your viewpoint. The administrations in Armenia and Azerbaijan have been established as a result of the Karabakh problem but it would be wrong to describe the two republics as similar. The Karabakh trump card is no longer a condition of coming to power in Armenia. The process has not been completed in Azerbaijan, where the transition from communism to democracy has taken a little longer. The Karabakh problem prevailed in Azerbaijan's internal politics. Talking with you now, I wish to say that I hope Azerbaijan will become politically stable. I hope it will abandon the Karabakh trump card. If our hopes are confirmed then we can talk with the same objective in mind. Mutual concessions can be made, former President Ayaz Mutalibov supporting the idea although we could not reach agreement with him because the Azerbaijani administration could not control the republic's internal situation. Internal political maneuvers in Azerbaijan caused Mutalibov to harden his policy on Karabakh. We hope the new administration in Azerbaijan will not make similar mistakes.

[Hacioglu] Do you think 1992 will reveal whether or not the Turks and the Armenians will remain enemies in the 21st century?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Both Armenia and Turkey have come far in normalizing their relations during the past few years. We have surmounted many obstacles and I am convinced each side will be making even fewer of the statements which harm this positive development. Official statements during the past few days have cast a shadow on developments. I want to believe that recent anti-Armenian disclosures by Turkish officials were prompted by the pressure of public opinion in Turkey. I do not believe there has been any radical change in Turkey's policy but I know there are certain political circles in Turkey which try to use the Karabakh problem as a trump card. I regard this as a dangerous state of affairs, which, if allowed to continue, will create a shockwave in Turkey's internal politics. Nevertheless, I am hopeful reason will prevail. I believe Turkey's national interests as a whole have priority over the Karabakh problem.

[Hacioglu] Can we describe the recent developments as a victory for Armenian diplomacy?

[Ter-Petrosyan] This is a temporary development. I am sure Turkey will maintain its impartial approach.

[Hacioglu] Does Armenia want to become a full NATO member?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Armenia wants to join a system which will guarantee it security, which the Soviet Union did for 70 years. An effort is being made to establish a security system within the CIS. We will study the situation and if the CIS satisfies us on security, we will stay within that system. If not, we can consider Europe or NATO.

Your Leaders Defamed Us

[Hacioglu] Can you comment on the Armenian foreign minister's revelation blaming Turkey?

[Ter-Petrosyan] It is not surprising. Angry exchanges took place, the Armenian foreign minister's statement coming after Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel's disclosures. Using certain phrases, the Turkish prime minister disclosed that your country's approach is not impartial. It is as if a competition has been organized in Turkey to support Azerbaijan. President Turgut Ozal, Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, and Motherland Party Leader

Mesut Yilmaz are competing to defame the Armenians. Their statements have indicated that Turkey is no longer impartial. I wish to reiterate that I do not regard this as a victory for Armenia. I regret what has happened. Under the circumstances, our effort to normalize relations between the two countries will become more difficult. We do not want to place the Karabakh problem within the framework of Turkish-Armenian relations.

[Hacioglu] Do you wish to convey a message to the Turkish people and the Turkish Government?

[Ter-Petrosyan] We want peace. We call for peace to be established and expect Turkey to help us.

President Replies to Ukraine Leader's Statement

NC1703074592 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has sent the following message to Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan: Ukraine is saddened and concerned over reports of (?intensification) of the bloody battles in Nagorno-Karabakh and attempts to involve the CIS military units and subunits in the fighting. The conflict between the two neighboring states is causing (?untold) suffering for the population and is dangerously (?upsetting) the situation in the region. I sadly and regrettably note that our friendly Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples have found themselves in a tragic trap which is the legacy of the imperialist policy of distortion and persecution of the nations' religious beliefs and cultures. It is in the interest of these two peoples to quickly escape from this trap. The international community has accrued experience in settling such tragic conflicts. Armenia's and Azerbaijan's memberships in the United Nations and CSCE give them the opportunity to fully utilize the mechanisms of those international organizations to peacefully resolve the problem. On its part, Ukraine is ready to assist in efforts to search for a peaceful resolution of the problem at the Kiev meeting of CIS republic leaders.

In response to Ukrainian President Kravchuk's [words indistinct] message, Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan in his letter (?said) that despite all the [word indistinct] mediation efforts undertaken, under the present unstable domestic situation in the republic the Azerbaijani leadership is not in a position to halt the (?war) being waged against the peaceful citizens of Nagorno-Karabakh. This fact alarms Armenia, which believes that the conflict could be resolved through peaceful talks between the Azerbaijani and Nagorno-Karabakh leaders, and Armenia is ready to accept any solution which satisfies the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh. For the speedy solution of the conflict, Armenia is ready to utilize all the (?help) given by the international community within the framework of the UN and CSCE, and is not confining itself solely to Ukraine's [words indistinct] in the forthcoming Kiev meeting.

President Criticizes People's Deputies Congress

LD1703023992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0139 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 17 Mar (TASS)—In the opinion of Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the so-called congress of USSR people's deputies in Moscow is "another attempt to reanimate the totalitarian regime, and Armenia will not play these games." Speaking at a news conference in Yerevan, the Armenian president expressed the conviction that Armenian deputies will not take part in this congress. "I am against banning this event, for in a democratic system everybody should have the opportunity to express his opinion," Ter-Petrosyan said at the same time. "And let the people satisfy themselves once again from the lips of the organizers of this congress what dangers may await it."

Azerbaijan

Vance Heads to Nagorno-Karabakh; Details Secret

LD1703062692 Moscow TASS in English 0603 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetov]

[Text] United Nations March 17 TASS—Former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance went on a fact-finding mission to Nagorno-Karabakh as a special envoy of the U.N. secretary-general on Monday [16 March] evening. His trip, which is supported by the United Nations, will take him to Yerevan and Baku.

Announcing about this, a spokesman for the U.N. secretary-general said the details of the programme of Vance's visit would not be reported "on security grounds". The ITAR-TASS correspondent has learnt that Vance and a small group of U.N. staff accompanying him will first arrive in Geneva and will then board a special plane to take them to the region.

The U.N. Security Council plans to hear Vance's report upon the results of his trip. His mission is designed to complement efforts to achieve a settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh taken within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Vance has recently accomplished the same task in Yugoslavia. His talks with the Yugoslav sides brought about the ceasefire and helped launch the U.N. operation.

Mamedov Visits Agdamskiy, Other Rayons

NC1603203092 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Yakub Mamedov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet and acting president, visited Agdamskiy Rayon on 16 March. He met with the representatives of the rayon's people and defenders of our lands, and

considered their situation and daily problems. An enlarged meeting was held in Agdam with leading officials of the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of National Security, Health Ministry, and other ministries and administrations. The defense of Agdamsakiy Rayon and the territory of Karabakh, and the social problems of the people were examined. The proposals and recommendations that were put forward were considered. Furthermore, several concrete measures were established on the matters that were discussed.

Yakub Mamedov visited several of the republic's border rayons as well. While meeting with the residents and defenders of the cities and towns, he urged them to be steadfast and noted that the republic's leaders and the patriotic forces are using all the resources in Azerbaijan to take the most categorical measures for the defense of the homeland.

Mamedov also visited the Terterskiy Rayon and met with the representatives of the people.

Gasanov: Russia Arms Armenians for 'War'

TA1703111792 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 2140 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Statement in Azeri by Azerbaijani Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov to unidentified correspondent on the "Insight Into the World" program, in Baku; date not given—recorded]

[Text] During the reign of the Soviet Union, Communists and Bolsheviks encouraged the Armenian stand. Recently, the Russians methodically armed the Armenians, providing them with the most modern Soviet weapons because of their interest in perpetuating the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan. They believe that such a war would prevent Azerbaijan's integration and rapprochement with Turkey and Iran, a development which would eliminate Russia's influence in the area. Armenia is Russia's ally in this region, as well as in the Middle East.

In the past, when Azerbaijan was within the borders of the Soviet Union, incidents between our country and Armenia were considered a domestic problem. The Soviet Union has now been dissolved, however, and its borders have disappeared. The conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia, therefore, is no longer a domestic problem but rather a regional issue. Just as Israel is a Middle East problem and Afghanistan is a problem that concerns Iran and Pakistan, the problem between Azerbaijan and Armenia is Turkey's and Iran's affair.

Mamedov Contacts Turkey's Demirel on Conflict

NC1303192792 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Chairman Yakub Mamedov contacted Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel once again late last night. Demirel informed Mamedov that he was deeply grieved by the worsening situation in the mountainous region in Karabakh and the many deaths. He said he had contacted President George Bush and several heads of state in Europe. Demirel also noted that Turkish leaders are continuing to search for a way to resolve the complex situation and are holding talks at the international level in that regard.

Government Probes Armenian 'Criminal Activities'

NC1603065992 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] The Azerbaijan procuracy agencies have launched a criminal investigation into the recent incidents in the mountainous region in Karabakh and the Azerbaijani border rayons. The increasing Armenian aggression, which is aimed at occupying Azerbaijani territory, is also being investigated. Investigative teams composed of the most experienced procuracy employees have been established to check into the matter. An investigation has been launched into the criminal activities of the Armenian military units in Khodzhaly on 27 February. Armenian acts of violence in that city have angered the entire world. An effort is being made to determine the number of people killed and missing.

The incidents in [name indistinct] are continuing. Dozens of people have been killed and wounded there. Many of the residents are still missing. [passage indistinct]

National Front Cancels Baku Protest Rally

LD1403105392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] RIA reports from Baku that a pan-republican rally to protest the indecisiveness and sluggishness of the new authorities that was planned by Azerbaijan's national front for today has been cancelled by its organizers. Observers believe the rally's cancellation was caused by the increasing consolidation of Azerbaijan's political forces in the face of the deteriorating situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. On the eve of former president Mutalibov's resignation, the people's front also cancelled a pan-republican rally in Baku which facilitated a change of personalities in power. In addition, leaders of the people's front ensured that they occupy a number of important posts in the re-established State Council and the Azerbaijan's Emergency Defense Committee via political consultations.

Truce Violations Continue in Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1603212592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Despite yesterday's reassuring report on the accords reached between Baku and Yerevan, the truces

in Karabakh continue to be violated. We have received reports from both republics today.

[Unidentified correspondent] The reports from Karabakh are reminiscent of the news from Yugoslavia, to which we have become accustomed. Another agreement on a cease-fire has been partially broken. Salvoes were fired at Stepanakert from a Grad installation in Shusha. The rayon center of Askeran has also been shelled, and some civilians in the town were killed.

The war has moved into a completely different channel—Grad weapons of mass destruction and the latest T-72 tanks are being used in the conflict. In particular, yesterday, during the rebuff of concentrated attacks on the rayon center of Askeran, several T-72 tanks and APC-2's belonging to the Azerbaijani side were knocked out of action and seized. From the documents removed from a crew who was killed, it became clear that it formerly belonged to the Giaginskaya Regiment of the Soviet Army. Unfortunately, to all appearances, the war will continue and develop in the direction of exacerbation. The only thing that is realistic and necessary is the evacuation of the civilian population from the locations of the fighting. What is also needed is the setting up of neutral channels of communications between the sides at enmity, and the presence of independent observers to avert the mass violations of human rights in this region. But the last reports give hope. Despite the numerous violations, the situation in these hours is relatively quiet. The Armenian side is trying to implement the accord on a cease-fire as far as is possible, and the main self-defense detachments have been drawn back to the rear. There still remains hope of some kind of settlement.

[Correspondent S. Mustafayev] The agreement reached on the temporary cease-fire in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it was only in effect for a few hours, and in some places for just a few minutes. After a brief lull the Armenian National Army resumed the shelling of the town of Agdam from Grad installations and large-caliber weapons. There is extensive destruction, as well as dead and wounded. In the area of the town of Shusha the Armenian armed formations took advantage of the truce to redeploy their forces, and tried to seize the Shusha-Lachin road, the only artery linking Shusha with the main territory [Azerbaijan]. This vehicle was shelled from an APC. All the passengers are gravely wounded. In order to rebuff the attack the Azerbaijan side was compelled to use force. Firing on Azerbaijani populated points along the border from the territory of Armenia has also resumed. Thus, despite the agreement, the truce did not work. The war is continuing.

Azerbaijanis Flee Border

LD1603205492 Moscow TASS in English 1952 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Krasulin and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Baku March 16 TASS—The Azeri population fearing further shelling and raids, is hastily escaping regions bordering on Nagorno-Karabakh towards safer areas of Azerbaijan, Oleg Aliyev, the head of the press centre of Azerbaijani Ministry for National Security told TASS on Monday [16 March]. Only men remain because many of them have lost their relatives and feel it's their duty to take revenge.

Aliyev said that Shusha is the only city out of 56 Azeri settlements in Nagorno-Karabakh which remains under Azeri control. However, no Azeri fighter has crossed the Armenian border, he added.

Leaflets Urge People To Leave

LD1603174292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1646 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 16 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—According to a report by the press service of the president of the Azerbaijan Republic, the town of Fizuli, situated outside the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, was subjected to unprecedented artillery shelling at noon today. Over 30 people were killed and injured. Leaflets urging the population to leave these populated areas were dropped on other Azerbaijani towns: Yevlakh, Barda, and Agdam. The leaflets also contain threats by Armenian fighters "to join the Muslim holiday Norvuz on 20 March at the Kura River." This information was sent to ITAR-TASS from the Azerbaijani Republic's permanent mission in Moscow.

Armenian Units Ambush Bus

NC1703070792 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2000 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs Press Center has disclosed that Armenian military units ambushed and fired on a bus traveling on the Lachin-Shusha highway near the Dashalty town in Shushinskiy Rayon on 15 March. One member of the Azerbaijan National Army was killed and two others were wounded.

The Armenian military units fired on the Shilly [two names indistinct] towns in Agdamskiy Rayon yesterday but there were no casualties.

Armenian military units fired on several towns in Kazakhskiy, Fizulinskiy, Zangelanskiy, and Lachinskiy Rayons on 15 March. They stopped when our self-defense forces returned fire. No one was hurt.

More on Shelling, Hostage Exchange

OW1603163392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1437 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On the night of March 15, as a result of shelling by Armenian armed formations, six people were killed in Shusha (Nagorno-Karabakh) and eight in Agdam, a city bordering on Karabakh, the local interior bodies

informed IF [INTERFAX]. According to the same sources, 11 people were wounded in Agdam and eight in Shusha. Both cities have suffered ruins. The villages of Dzhuvarly, Dzhamilli, Gadzhar and Karadagly in the Fizuli district bordering on Karabakh, and a number of villages in the Lachin district of Azerbaijan, bordering on Armenia, also came under fire. The Lachin interior department alleges that fire came from artillery pieces and helicopters of the CIS 7th army. It also reports that military helicopters fired at a passenger bus moving along the road linking Shusha and Lachin. Four passengers were killed and eight wounded.

Well-informed sources in Yerevan have reported only about fierce shelling on Monday [16 March] of the Armenian village of Karachinar in the Geranboi (formerly Shaumyanovsk) district of Azerbaijan. No information about fatalities has arrived yet.

According to verified data, in the evening of March 15, 18 GRAD missiles were launched at Stepanakert (Khankendy) which is the administrative center of Nagorno-Karabakh. There were no victims.

The Agdam interior department informed IF on Monday morning that there was an exchange of hostages on Sunday at the border of the Askeran and Agdam regions. The Armenian side passed over to the Azeris 13 Khodzhaly residents and one resident of the village of Karadagly. The Azeris gave back to the Armenians the same number of hostages. Yerevan reports that the exchange of hostages continues.

Georgia

Council Delegation Continues Talks in Zugdidi

LD1703095192 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] A delegation of the Georgian State Council set off for Zugdidi today to continue talks on resolving the situation in that town in the west of the republic. The situation there deteriorated a week ago following an attack on the local militia by armed detachments supporting ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. During the clashes they captured around 50 government troops, including National Guard Commander Georgiy Karakashvili. The insurgents control the city and the surrounding population centers.

According to a member of the State Council delegation who spoke on Tbilisi television after the first round of talks which took place on 14 March, the captives are being kept in tolerable conditions and are being treated fairly well. He also reported that Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters demand the withdrawal of units of the provisional government's National Guard and Mkhedrioni detachments from western Georgia, and the possibility of forming armed detachments in Zugdidi from among local inhabitants. These would be part of the republican guard's structure.

These demands of the insurgents in western Georgia, where the positions of the ousted president are still strong, could, according to the republican State Council press center, be the basis for today's round of talks in Zugdidi.

(Gocha Bakhia), who claimed to be a National Guard colonel and the president's plenipotentiary representative in western Georgia, said in a telephone call to an ITAR-TASS correspondent that the situation in Zugdidi is normalizing. Early this morning, the city's main enterprises and organizations went back to work.

Supporters' Proposals Accepted

LD1603213792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to INTERFAX, the Georgian State Council accepts the proposals of Gamsakhurdia's supporters. Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of the State Council, reported this to journalists. Among the proposals are the return of units belonging to the National Guard and the Mkhedrioni militarized group to their permanent stations. Elections for local authorities should be held in Zugdidi and all the armed formations located there should be given official status and their personal immunity guaranteed.

Ministry Acts To Combat Zugdidi Violence

AU1703111992 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1000 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] The operational situation in Samegrelo region, specifically in Zugdidi rayon, has recently become extremely complicated. Violence and criminal offenses have reached an unprecedented scale. Taking into account the proposal of the local population and the serious operational situation that has taken shape in the region and in order to strengthen the struggle against crime and create appropriate conditions, the Republic of Georgia Internal Affairs Ministry has transformed Zugdidi's town and rayon internal affairs department into the internal affairs administration. Zugdidi's internal affairs administration has already been allocated additional staff, resources to restore the building that was recently destroyed, authorized weapons, equipment, communications, and other technical resources.

Zugdidi Situation Remains 'Extremely Tense'

LD1703101392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Report by IPRINDA correspondent Zurab Dvali]

[Text] The situation in western Georgia, in particular in the town of Zugdidi, remains extremely tense. No assault take place on the city, despite the expiration at 2100 on

15 March of the ultimatum issued by the leadership of the National Guard against armed groupings of supporters of the ex-president.

This morning a delegation of members of the Georgian State Council set off there. The delegation was previously there two days ago, and returned with specific results of meetings with Gamsakhurdia supporters. As stated by delegation member (Nudar Natadze), the chairman of Georgia's Popular Front, guardsmen seized by supporters of the ex-president are still held as hostages. However, for the time being their lives are not in danger. He also stated that there is a real possibility for settling the conflict by peaceful means.

However, as Tbilisi commander Geli Lanchava stated in a conversation with an IPRINDA correspondent, the leaders of these groups must stand trial. On 17 March the State Council delegation will evidently return to Tbilisi.

However, another meeting of Zviad Gamsakhurdia supporters took place today in Zugdidi. There were calls there to continue the action of national disobedience demanding that he be reinstalled as president. About 2,000 people attended the meeting, which lasted about 20 minutes and did not generate any problems.

It transpired from today's talks in Zugdidi that Gamsakhurdia supporters are demanding the removal from that town of units of the Mkhedrioni National Guard, which were brought there immediately after the overthrow of the previous authorities. Apart from that, fighters of the Zugdidi battalion, the backbone of the armed resistance of supporters of the ex-president, are demanding that official status should be given to their unit and that it should be introduced into the official structure of government troops.

Meanwhile, representatives of the provisional government are demanding that the other side guarantees the observance of order and an end to terrorist acts.

The talks are continuing, and the republic's political stability—so essential today in Georgia in order to get out of the acute crisis situation—depends on a most rapid attainment of a truce.

Hostages Reportedly Executed

PM1603160292 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Besik Urigashvili report: "Georgia on Brink of Civil War: Four Hostages Executed in Mingrelia"]

[Excerpts] In the main city of Mingrelia, supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia have executed four hostages, members of the Georgian National Guard and the "Mkhedrioni" paramilitary formation, who were taken prisoner earlier last week. It is suspected that they were brutally tortured before being killed.

The supporters of the ex-president are still holding around 30 more guards and "Mkhedrioni" members hostage, including Georgiy Karkarashvili, a commander of the National Guard, and Besik Kutateladze, a representative of the Guard's main staff.

Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian State Council, spoke on this matter on Georgian Television Saturday evening. He characterized the incident as barbaric and urged supporters of the ousted president to reflect and resolve all problems by political means and by reasonable mutual concessions. Otherwise, Shevardnadze stated, it will be hard to avoid widespread bloodshed.

It has become known that in view of recent events in Zugdidi the "Mkhedrioni" organization has declared a general mobilization of its reservists. "Mkhedrioni" is now in a state of full combat readiness. According to Dzhaba Ioseliani, the leader of this organization and deputy chairman of the State Council, it could have up to 15,000 men under arms in a few hours.

Tengiz Kitovani, member of the State Council presidium, who effectively runs the National Guard, and Georgian Interior Minister Roman Gventsadze have also stated their readiness for the most resolute actions. Kitovani said that the demand of Gamsakhurdia's supporters that the former president be restored to his post in Tbilisi in exchange for hostages was absurd. He stated that if even a single hostage were harmed that would be the end of Gamsakhurdia's supporters once and for all. According to Kitovani, the guards' actions will be resolute and uncompromising. He hinted clearly at the storming of Zugdidi. [passage omitted].

According to various estimates, there are 1,200-1,500 of Gamsakhurdia's armed supporters concentrated in Zugdidi and other places in Mingrelia. The Joint Armed Forces, which are under the jurisdiction of the State Council, have approximately a tenfold superiority in both men and hardware.

The large-scale transfer of the National Guard toward Zugdidi has already begun. The first casualties have been reported, too. According to the official version, in the city of Senaki local supporters of Gamsakhurdia barred the guards' way. When the guards ordered them to disperse they refused. There was a clash which left one picket dead and four injured. There have been other less significant clashes which have so far passed without casualties.

Meanwhile, a group of State Council members including Georgian People's Front leader Nodar Natadze has returned from Zugdidi. He stated that it is not only supporters of the ousted president who are to blame for the escalation of tension but also the units of the National Guard and "Mkhedrioni" located there, whose men have committed unforgivable attacks against the local population and impugned the honor and dignity of inhabitants, often inciting clashes which have left many casualties on both sides.

The group of State Council members met in Zugdidi with Valter Shurgaya, Gocha Bakhiya, and Zaur Kobaliya, leaders of the pro-Zviad opposition. They signed a joint statement which provides an opportunity for the peaceful settlement of the conflict. Among the opposition leaders' main demands are that units of the National Guard and "Mkhedrioni" be withdrawn from cities in Mingrelia, that the local militia be entrusted with the duties of ensuring law and order, that all members of the armed opposition be guaranteed personal immunity, that they be incorporated in the Georgian National Guard as a separate formation, and a number of other demands.

If the authorities accept these demands, the opposition leaders guarantee that all armed actions against the present Georgian Government will cease and all hostages will be released. The demand for the return of the ousted president does not figure in this statement in any form. This inspires hopes for peace.

300-400 Gamsakhurdia Combatants

LD1703113492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] The situation in Zugdidi remain the focus of attention for the Georgian public. Here is what Tengiz Oblotia reported by phone from Sukhumi:

[Oblotia] Almost every supporter of the ex-president with the strength to carry arms is in Zugdidi. It is difficult to tell how many of them there are but the Georgian Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs and representatives of the State Council put the figure at 300-400 people. Naturally, there may be inaccuracies here but one thing is clear, that there is no question of there being the 1,500 fighters reported in the Russian media. It is also clear that the government troop forces far outweigh the number of Gamsakhurdia supporters. It is therefore possible to regard their actions in Zugdidi as futile.

Things are complicated, however, by the presence of a large number of hostages from among guards who have been captured by Gamsakhurdia supporters at various times and places. If the guards decide to use force and enter the town, their lives would be in grave danger. On the other hand the Gamsakhurdia supporters are aware that to a great extent it is precisely the presence of the hostages that is holding the guards back from decisive actions and I have to admit that if reprisals are taken against the hostages it is extremely difficult to predict the reaction of the guards, who have the town completely surrounded at present.

A delegation of State Council representatives, which already visited Zugdidi two days ago, set off for the city on the morning of 16 March, taking with them the results of their meetings with the leaders of the resistance. Nodar Notadze, a member of the delegation and chairman of the Georgian People's Front, said that there is a real possibility of resolving the conflict by peaceful means. It is for precisely this reason that despite the fact that the ultimatum from the guards' leadership to the insurgents expired at 2100 on 15 March, the town has not been stormed. Instead of APCs, a car carrying the members of parliament entered the city and the hope emerged that there might not be bloodshed in Zugdidi, however much it might be longed for by a certain person who has now entrenched himself in Groznyy.

Russia 'Powerless' To Stop Groznyy Activity

PM1603161892 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Andrey Ostalskiy report: "Russia Powerless To Stop Interference in Georgia's Internal Affairs"]

[Text] Interference in the internal affairs of a neighboring sovereign state is being openly carried out from Russian territory, and the Russian authorities are powerless to do anything about it. The events now taking place in the capital of Chechnya and the reaction to them in Moscow could be described in those terms.

Some 70 deputies of the Georgian parliament dissolved at the end of last year have assesmbled in Groznyy. They seek to overthrow the ruling State Council in Georgia, headed by Eduard Shevardnadze, and restore Zviad Gamsakhurdia to power. To these ends the ex-deputies assembled in Groznyy have called on the population of their republic to practice civil disobedience throughout Georgia.

However, it is clearly not just peaceful resistance which is involved here. Gamsakhurdia himself, who took part in the sittings, and his closest supporters have no intention of balking at unleashing a large-scale, protracted civil war. The events in West Georgia, where combat operations continue and where Gamsakhurdia's supporters have seized the city of Zugdidi, is proof of this.

International law gives an unequivocal answer on this question: Such operations should not be allowed.

A Russian Foreign Ministry representative whom we asked to comment on the events stated: "We are not opposed to citizens of other states coming to Russia. However, we are opposed to Russian territory being used for such political ends."

The wording is, as usual, professionally cautious. A clearer stance might have been expected from the Russian Supreme Soviet and government. But public opinion is entitled to demand at least clarification of the situation. Either it must be honestly acknowledged that Chechnya is effectively no longer part of Russian territory or at least is not fully under the control of any Russian constitutional organs of authority, or efforts must be made to ensure observance of the law. Otherwise, Moscow finds itself in an ambiguous position: The very reality of its power over the rest of Russian territory will inevitably be called into question.

The creation in Groznyy of a bridgehead for subversive activity against a neighboring state conjures up unpleasant associations. Communist and "national liberation movements" supported by the USSR were launched "externally" on numerous occasions. Training for all kinds of "armed guerrillas" was conducted on our territory or the territory of independent states. Here the situation is different: It is not a case of Russian territory being deliberately made available for subversive operations. However, the Russian government can scarcely permit itself to demonstrate complete impotence in this matter.

There is another aspect to what is happening. The "congress of former officials" in Groznyy is bound to recall the attempts to revive the "congress of USSR people's deputies"—the nonexistent parliament of a nonexistent state. The situations do undoubtedly differ—in terms of differences of scale and the historical rationale. And this coincidence might seem paradoxical: After all, Gamsakhurdia was well known as a nationalist leader and as an anticommunist and fighter against precisely that empire which the former Communists want to restore.

But in reality the Gamsakhurdia regime demonstrated on the scale of Georgia that same contempt for the norms of democracy and human rights as the "supporters of empire." The desire for independence turned into absolutism of power. But the main thing is that in both instances we are dealing with a far from safe attempt to reverse history.

It is no accident that the name of Shevardnadze should serve for both the supporters of Gamsakhurdia and the former "people's deputies" as a symbol of the changes which they hate. Common enemies, as we know, often serve as the most durable basis for alliances...

Meanwhile Deus Pinheiro, Portuguese chairman of the EC Council of Ministers, has reported that the EC will apparently recognize Georgia in the very near future and that the organization's policy committee intends to enter into direct contact with Eduard Shevardnadze.

Sigua Says Most Parties Support Shevardnadze

LD1403192592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 14 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Gvritashvili]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—"Eduard Shevardnadze's appointment as Georgian State Council chairman should help consolidate Georgian society so it can move toward building a truly democratic state," believes Tengiz Sigua, republican prime minister and State Council Presidium member. He stressed to TASS that the majority of political parties and organizatons supported the idea of appointing the former USSR foreign minister as republican leader. Tengiz Sigua noted that, as a political figure, Shevardnadze "will undoubtedly play a positive role in the cause of overcoming the deep crisis that the republic is going through." The prime minister also believes that despite different opinions between Georgian electors, "the majority of sensible people support Shevardnadze's arrival and his appointment as State Council chairman."

State Council Planning October Elections

LD1703115392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Georgian republic's State Council, headed by Eduard Shevardnadze, is planning to hold parliamentary elections in mid-October, which will determine whether or not Georgia will be a part of the CIS. It was noted that the problem of South Ossetia will be settled by political means. It was also stated that the withdrawal of troops of the CIS states from Georgian territory is being planned.

The republican leadership sees Germany as one of the priority directions of Georgian foreign policy. In the "Vesti" evening edition we broadcast a political statement by Gamsakhurdia. It was stated at the news conference that his chances of political revenge are not great. And his standing is falling every day.

Rockets Fired at Tskhinvali in South Ossetia

LD1703101692 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz March 17 TASS—Rocket and grenade launchers and large-calibre machine-guns again pounded Tskhinvali, the remote approaches to the republic's administrative centre and checkpoints of Interior Ministry troops over several hours last night, the press centre of South Ossetia's information committee reports.

According to unspecified reports, the attack caused casualties in the city, destroyed and damaged several apartment blocs, public buildings and communal service facilities. Units of the Ossetian guard returned the fire.

In an ITAR-TASS interview, the South Ossetian Interior Minister Vladimir Kochiyev confirmed reports about the intensive bombardment of Tskhinvali. He thinks the goal of this armed action is to hinder current positive processes in South Ossetia to settle Ossetian-Georgian relations and relieve tension in the region.

Abkhaz Police Disarm, Expel Assault Unit

OW1603224492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1554 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO] [Text] A Georgian Interior Ministry assault unit for combat against crime and banditism which arrived in the Abkhaz capital Sukhumi by helicopter March 15 was disarmed by servicemen of the Abkhaz law-enforcement bodies and sent back to Tbilisi.

The unit made up of members of the paramilitary group "Mkhedrioni" was dispatched to Abkhazia without coordinating the issue with the government of this autonomous republic "for restoring law and order".

An investigation showed that seven of 13 unit members had no licences to carry arms.

Estonia

NATO Secretary General on Tour of Republic

LD1403115692 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 14 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Budrins and Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn March 14 TASS—NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner arrived in Estonia today in a tour of the Baltic states.

Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri told ITAR-TASS that matters connected with the establishment of a European collective security system would be discussed during Woerner's visit and meetings.

Woerner will spend two days in Estonia and will go to Vilnius on March 15.

Russian 13-19 Mar Military Maneuvers Prohibited

LD1303203792 Tallinn Radio Estonia in English 1620 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The Estonian Government is not going to permit the Russian Army to arrange military maneuvers in the territory of Estonia during 13-19 March. [passage omitted]

Estonia's refusal is based on the need to ensure the security of civilians.

Parliament Bans Former Soviet Army Deputies

LD1303134392 Tallinn Estonian Radio in English 2130 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] The Estonian Supreme Council has accepted a draft resolution to declare null and void the deputy powers of members of the parliament who have previously belonged to the ex-Soviet Army. The resolution was proposed by the State Defense Council. It was passed by a vote of 57 to one with only one abstention. Four deputies who were affected by the ruling immediately left the hall after the vote. The Supreme Council's legal commission opposed the decision, saying the Soviet-Estonian election law, according to which the deputies were elected, is still in force, thus making today's resolution legally incorrect. Said the head of the Commission, Mr. Tonu Anton, all the other Supreme Council members have been elected under the same law. The legal commission favors steps toward electing a new parliament, the Independent Republic of Estonia. [sentence as heard] After this, the transition period could be said to be ended. Mr. Anton said a question about the exclusion of noncitizens could also be put forward in order to seemingly improve the Supreme Council.

Council Presidium Discusses Army Housing

LD1303174792 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] The Estonian News Agency reports that the session of the Supreme Council Presidium today discussed the proposal of setting up a Republic of Estonia emigration fund. The aim of the emigration fund is to invite financial aid from foreign states and to use it for building housing on Russian territory for the families of servicemen of the alien army which is to be withdrawn from Estonia. The Government will have to draw up and endorse rules for the emigration fund and set up a council of the fund within one month.

According to the press service of the Supreme Council chairman, a note from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Republic of Estonia in connection with the Republic of Estonia's Supreme Council resolution on the implementation of the citizenship law was also under discussion. A reply drafted by the government was studied. It stresses that provisions of the Estonian Supreme Council resolution are in accordance with international documents in the sphere of human rights, as well as with the treaty concluded between Estonia and Russia.

Premier Vahi Says Crisis Is Ongoing

OW1203230992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1931 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview published in the Rahva Haal newspaper, Estonian Prime Minister Tiit Vahi says Estonian society is still in a state of deep crisis, with anarchy and corruption having penetrated top government echelons.

Vahi believes the main task at the moment is to ensure at least basic law and order in the economy and the country in general.

This, he says, is the purpose of a set of measures recently taken by the government, such as the restoration of auditing services in ministries, the setting up of a special department in the Interior Ministry to fight economic offences, restrictions on salaries for managers of state-owned enterprises and a ban on the export of both ferrous and non-ferrous metals (except for exports stipulated by agreements with other states).

Preparations are also under way for a monetary reform. The government, the Prime Minister says, is trying to avert any negative effects it may have on the population. The cost of living has gone up but this should soon be followed by increases in wages and allowances. At present the minimum wage the minimum wage is equivalent to $12 according to the Bank of Estonia exchange rate. Vahi says his government is planning to raise it to $100 by the end of the year.

In Vahi's opinion, the monetary reform, a quick property reform, the restoration of law and order and the overcoming of red tape will provide favourable conditions for large foreign investments and credits by the summer.

Latvia

Gorbunovs, NATO's Woerner Hold Talks

LD1303220992 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] As always at this time, information on the day gone by at the Supreme Council of Latvia. The deputies worked at the permanent commissions, but Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs had a meeting with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. Also Peteris Simsons, the head of the commission for defense, Supreme Council Secretary Imants Daudiss, and also Janis Vaivads and Indulis Berzins, the leaders of the People's Front of Latvia faction of deputies,participated in the talk.

Manfred Woerner congratulated the people of Latvia on the recognition of independence and expressed pleasure that, arriving here in Latvia for the first time, he had been kindly received.

Mr. Woerner has already managed to visit Peter's Church, has been at the Doms [Cathedral], and laid flowers at the Monument of Liberty. Throughout the day talks have taken place with Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Minister of State Affairs Janis Dinevics, and Minister of Defense Talavs Jundzis.

In the talk with Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Mr. Woerner emphasized that Latvia has been a member of the NATO Cooperation Council since the first meeting of this organization last year. Latvia was represented also this week at the Cooperation Council's regular meeting. Woerner questioned the partners to the talks with Latvia on what our relations are like with Russia, in the military sphere of course. Anatolijs Gorbunovs emphasized that originally our interests were united, that is, to weaken the Soviet Union as a center. Now these interests are dividing, because both states have gained independence. However, with Russia a conflict situation has arisen precisely on the questions of the withdrawal of the former USSR troops, as Russia is not endeavoring to solve this question as soon as possible. Quite the contrary, it is in Russia's interests to preserve spheres of influence and also military bases in Latvia.

Our aim, Anatolijs Gorbunovs emphasized, is a complete withdrawal of the USSR troops, which will become a stabilizing factor in Latvia. This would also be a sort of historical equalizing, because the USSR troops are regarded here as occupation troops.

Manfred Woerner noted that the aim of his delegation in coming to the Baltics is to form stability within relations among all the states participating in the NATO, and to help the newly founded states which are restoring their independence. NATO will endeavor to insure that these states are involved in this process.

The NATO secretary general also asked about our positive and negative points, to which Anatolijs Gorbunovs noted that an advantage is that we are an independent sovereign state and we are recognized in the world. A minus, in turn, is that our demographic situation considerably differs from the situation in Lithuania and Estonia. He emphasized that we have not come to an open confrontation between the Latvians and the Russians, between the people of civilian and military circles. However, these relations cannot be called ideal. The fact that the former USSR troops are still allowed to hold exercises and troop maneuvers in the area is destabilizing the situation and is causing incomprehension and alarm among the inhabitants.

The talks between Latvia and Russia on questions of the withdrawal of the former USSR troops are continuing. A regular round is envisaged at the end of March-beginning of April. Only when these troops are fully withdrawn will it be possible to talk of Latvia as a completely free and independent country, Anatolijs Gorbunovs stressed in conclusion.

After that Manfred Woerner held a news conference.

Woerner Holds News Conference

OW1303234492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1838 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The problem of the presence of the former USSR's military forces in the Baltic states must be resolved through peaceful government talks, the General Secretary of NATO Manfred Woerner said at a news conference in Riga Friday [13 March]. He said NATO and the reformed Council on the Cooperation of North Atlantic Countries will support "fast and positive results of the talks but will not in any way put economic or political pressure on either side".

Woerner said NATO's new policy in Europe is aimed at overcoming any threat on the continent. He expressed certainty that all nations that signed the declaration of the Council on the Cooperation of North Atlantic Countries (formed in December 1991—BF [BALTFAX]) including Russia will strictly observe its basic principles.

Woerner described his visit to Riga and meetings with the Latvian government as "productive". He said the problem of the military presence of the former USSR on Latvian territory was the main topic of the meetings. "Latvia is an independent and sovereign state thus, there should be no question of the need to remove military forces of the former USSR", said the General Secretary of NATO.

Defense Minister Reviews Meeting

LD1603122592 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2100 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Interview with Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis by Janis Podins on 13 March; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Podins] Mr. Jundzis, how do you assess Manfred Woerner's visit to Latvia, and what will it give to the defense of the Republic of Latvia?

[Jundzis] I think that the very fact that the secretary general of NATO has come to Latvia is noteworthy in itself. I think that this gives those forces, which here in Latvia are still striving and endeavoring to do everything to restore their perhaps lost power, something to think about, and I think there it also gives those generals of the troops under the jurisdiction of Russia, who are endeavoring all the time, well, in fact, to feel at home here, something to think about. Here we are talking about these maneuvers, those movements, the uncontrollable Air Force exercises, and so on, yes. I think that here they have food for thought.

In turn, on the other hand, the fact that the secretary general of NATO found it necessary to come to the Baltic states testifies that NATO too has sufficiently, well, serious concern about the situation that is unfolding here in the Baltics, and how it might develop. After these talks I was convinced that the NATO secretary general is indeed anxious about the problems of the troops under the jurisdiction of Russia and about a quicker withdrawal of these troops from Latvia.

For the defense of Latvia, I think that cooperation in information, consultative cooperation with NATO which is already becoming outlined to us little by little, will after this visit, evidently, be increasingly more active. Thus, for instance, already on 1 April I will have the honor of going to a NATO conference on defense questions, and my deputies will go later. so these contacts will be strengthened.

Furthermore I would like to say that the NATO secretary general promised to acquaint himself thoroughly, together with experts, with our project for the concept for the defense of Latvia which I presented to him in English.

[Podins] As I understand it, during his visit Manfred Woerner did not meet with the representatives of the command of the Northwestern Group of troops.

[Jundzis] No, I think that it was quite right that he should not do that, because these troops are under the jurisdiction of Russia. As is known, Manfred Woerner was in Russia quite recently and met Yeltsin. These questions were, evidently, touched upon there.

[Podins] You mentioned the expected exercises of the Russian troops in Latvia. Perhaps you could say a little more about this. What is the attitude of the Latvian Ministry of Defense?

[Jundzis] Mr. Ivanov, the commander of a unit of troops, submitted to us what could be described as an announcement that they are preparing to organize such exercises in Latvia. Other regions are also included, specifically the St. Petersburg region. These are air defense troop exercises in which certain flights will also take place over Latvian territory. It is, however, indicated there that land forces are not being involved in these exercises.

One way or another we categorically expressed our attitude that in no way are we able to sanction such exercises; we also made it clear that, concerning that tense situation which is developing in connection with the forum envisaged for 17 March, the so-called USSR former deputies congress, we are categorically against this gathering. A letter to this effect has been delivered not only to this unit commander, but also to Mr. Mironov, the commander of the Northwestern Group.

[Podins] There has been no kind of reaction to this as yet?

[Jundzis] No, there is no reaction so far.

[Podins] Furthermore, about the expected withdrawal of one big—in inverted commas—sub-unit of the Armed Forces of Russia from the territory of Latvia. Perhaps you could comment on this?

[Jundzis] Yes, here one must, so to say, heave a sigh. We also told Mr. Woerner about this. This, of course, is a kind of play-acting.

Lithuania

General Secretary Woerner on Tour of Republic

Meets With Landsbergis

LD1503210292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The independence and security of the Baltic states is in the interests of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner stressed in his talk with Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council. He said that the headquarters of NATO is going to maintain permanent contacts with the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian states.

Manfred Woerner arrived in Vilnius this afternoon." [passage omitted] The meeting between Vytautas Landsbergis and Manfred Woerner lasted for an hour. The chairman of the Supreme Council talked about the problems being encountered concerning the withdrawal of the former USSR Union Armed Forces from the territory of Lithuania. The NATO secretary general

agreed that such a problem indeed exists. Questions of cooperation in the sphere of politics and defense were discussed. Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council, took part in the discussion.

Tomorrow Manfred Woerner is to meet representatives of the Supreme Council factions, Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius, Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas, Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius.

Meets With Vagnorius, Butkevicius

LD1603210192 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksandras Budris and Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius March 16 TASS—Lithuanian role in promoting European security, the latest developments in the republic and the neighbouring states were discussed on Monday [16 March] by visiting NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner with Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius and Defence Minister Audrius Butkevicius.

Woerner agreed the withdrawal of former Soviet troops from Lithuania will promote European security and, therefore, an early pullout is a common interest of Lithuania, the NATO countries and Russia, according to Butkevicius.

Earlier in the day Woerner met with members of the Lithuanian Parliamentary Presidium, with representatives of parliamentary groups and with Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas.

Vilnius is the last stop on Woerner's tour of Baltic states. Earlier he visited Latvia and Estonia.

Yeltsin Assures Vagnorius of Nuclear Supplies

LD1403225292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] The government information bureau has reported that on 13 March Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius received an official letter from Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin. The letter notes:

The Government of the Russian Federation has considered your appeal regarding conditions for the supply of nuclear fuel element (?units) to the Ignalina Nuclear Electric Power Station.

Seeking to preserve and expand economic cooperation between Russia and Lithuania, the Government of the Russian Federation confirms that it is interested in obtaining no less than 2,760 million kilowatt hours of electric energy for the Kaliningrad region, and is prepared to supply the fuel elements to the Ignalina Nuclear Electric Power Plant under conditions previously arranged by the competent organizations of our states.

I would like to call your attention to the fact that these conditions are based on the fact that future inter-accounting will be conducted in rubles. The inter-trade will switch to world prices [words indistinct] freely converted currency of one (?heat element unit) price will be approximately $70,000. This price has been fixed previously, observing the current uranium and nuclear fuel prices for nuclear electric power stations on the world market, the letter to Gediminas Vagnorius from Boris Yeltsin states.

Russian Request on Nuclear Experts 'Unacceptable'

LD1603233192 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Report from Lithuanian Supreme Council by correspondent Valdas Kanapienis]

[Text] At this morning's briefing, Supreme Council press representative Audrius Azubalis reported that the Lithuanian Foreign Affairs Ministry received a note from Russia several days ago. The note mentioned the agreement between the former Soviet Union and the United States concerning the elimination of long- and medium-range missiles. The note contains a proposal for Lithuania to implement the agreement and permit experts of the former Soviet Union and the United States to work in Lithuania.

According to Audrius Azubalis, we are being treated as a state in which these weapons are deployed; that means, we should abide by their agreements. This is unacceptable to Lithuania. It would be a different matter if the note contained the concept of a state in which these weapons and the army are deployed by force. In other words, we are interested to have the former Soviet Union Army leave Lithuania, as soon as possible.

Ostankino Television Interviews Landsbergis

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[Interview with Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis in Vilnius by Ostankino Television correspondent Andrey Skryabin, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent Lyudmila Telen, and NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent Sergey Parkhomenko in the Moscow studio, via television link; Landsbergis speaks in Russian; from the "Ostankino International Channel Presents: 40 Minutes With Mr. Landsbergis" program—live]

[Excerpts] [passsage omitted] [Parkhomenko] Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask what your strategic concept, so to speak, of Lithuania's foreign policy is. What do you regard as the principal axis in the foreign relations of the Republic of Lithuania? In which direction does your interest tend—toward Scandinavia, toward Russia, toward the Baltic community? What is your position on this?

[Landsbergis] Our policy is an open one, as is the society we are building. We do not believe it is necessary to enclose ourselves in some kind of frame of interests, to point ourselves in one direction. Lithuania is at a major crossroads, a turning point in all manner of things—ideas, cultural influences, and, ultimately, economic links and goods. So it is entirely natural that we need to cooperate with both East and West, and to some extent play a mediating role. We could derive benefit from such mediation, from the geographical position bequeathed to us by the alignments of history. We want to have balanced relations. We have had, and up to this time continue to have, very one-sided ties economically speaking, with our eastern neighbors, so while wishing to retain those ties we are also opening up in other directions—toward Scandinavia, where we are very well understood, with which we have much in common historically, culturally, and geographically, with the Baltic Sea as a link, a sea which should now start to bring us together and not divide us. We are also opening up toward Europe as a whole and the EC, where our prospective interests lie, oriented as we are toward a gradual process of accession through growing cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Parkhomenko] As I understand it, the problem of the withdrawal of the former Union troops—troops of the former Union, that would be a more precise way to put it—from Lithuanian territory is a key political problem today. Could you perhaps deal with it in some detail? What is your view of how the process is going? Has it actually started? What are the difficulties arising in this connection?

[Landsbergis] I would not want this to turn into a political problem, be it between Lithuania and Russia, be it in international fora. It is a technical problem. That is the way we want to resolve it. We want to do so as soon as possible. The presence of an alien army on the territory of a sovereign state which does not agree to its presence is something entirely inadmissible in the modern world. It is, and here it will be necessary to use a term which I do not actually like, or else which I feel could offend someone or other, but it is actually a force factor. We cannot get rid of this army. It is strong. It could just stay on here and wave away our demands.

I hope that we will resolve this, as I have said, as a technical matter. Talks on withdrawal are in progress. I cannot say that they are very hopeful, these talks. As for all the publicity that was given to the fact that the withdrawal is starting, I would describe it as insincere, as deceitful. So they've pulled nine soldiers out of Kaunas, and some kind of repair workshop or other. Meanwhile, nothing at all has been withdrawn from Vilnius, even though we had a signed agreement on this with President Yeltsin that the withdrawal would begin with Vilnius. Then there is a unit of a hundred men which has also been withdrawn, when we have some 60,000 or 80,000 of them here. At that rate this will take a hundred years.

We do not want a dispute or to raise the temperature over this issue, but we feel that, if things did not get moving last year as we had originally demanded, then things should get started at once now, and seriously, not just with nine men. It should be completed this year. We would like it to be complete in the autumn. [passage omitted]

[Skryabin] I have three groups of questions—questions to do with Lithuanian citizenship, including dual citizenship and to what extent now residing on the territory of another state are entitled to become Lithuanian subjects. That is the first series. The second series of questions—this bunch here—concern the Russian population of Lithuania, your attitude to them, and what you propose to do to see that their rights are observed. The third set concerns the inviolability of state borders, with Kaliningrad Oblast and relations with Belarus particularly in mind. So there you have three questions all at once.

[Landsbergis] Well, to take the last one first, while I remember it. We are not violating any borders, and are not encroaching on anyone's territory. If anyone were to encroach it would be so much the worse for him, he would be putting himself in a very vulnerable position. Now, on the question of Russians in Lithuania. We do not see the issue of dividing people by nationality. We are building a civil society. We have offered practically everyone the opportunity to take Lithuanian citizenship, and the whole population of Lithuania—I do not believe there is any obvious or clear percentage of difference along nationality lines—has reacted in a normal way and taken Lithuanian citizenship. [passage omitted] That is how we want to build our state and our society—without confrontation, without nationality divisions. I do not believe that there is any reason for any national group to feel offended in Lithuania, and I shall strive to see that it never happens, as far as that is within my power. [passage omitted]